

WARTIME LEAKS ■ GITMO NO MORE? ■ MIDDLE EAST MELTDOWN

TIME

How your **siblings**
make you who
you are

By Jeffrey Kluger



A close-up, high-resolution photograph of a man's face, focusing on his eyes, nose, and mouth. The skin texture is clearly visible. Overlaid on the image is large, dark, sans-serif text. The number '9' is in the top right corner. The letters 'Hu' are centered over the nose. The word 'HUMAN' is centered below 'Hu'. The text '7E+09' is at the bottom.

9

Hu

HUMAN

7E+09

SEEING THE FUNDAMENTAL IN THE ELEMENTAL. There is nothing more

elemental than chemistry. It is the basic story of life. And when that story includes

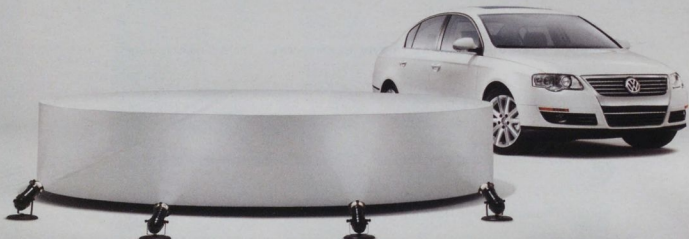


the Human Element, chemistry gets down to the fundamental work of solving

human problems. Health. Housing. Food. Water. The essentials of life



all made better by looking at the world through the eyes of the Human Element.



How do you brag about a vehicle with low ego emissions? You don't.

It's been said that the Volkswagen Passat has the lowest ego emissions of any German-engineered sedan.

Which is nice. Because you get features like those found in high-ego German sedans, but without all those nasty ego emissions.

So we're not about to ruin our low-ego rating with an ad full of boastful, "high-ego" language. We'll just stick to the facts.

We submit for evidence our 280HP 3.6L narrow-angle engine. A transverse-mounted

V-6 that can go tire to tire with just about any of our country counterparts.

And whether you're opening up the engine or the door the Passat makes a strong case for itself. Dual climate controls. 12-way adjustable front seats with lumbar support. 10-speaker, 600 watt Dynaudio™ sound system.* Push start ignition. Steerable, bi-xenon headlamps. Hidden umbrella holder.

Now inspect our safety features (if you like).

You'll find a laser-welded steel cage and six standard airbags, including side curtains.** It even earned a 2006 Top Safety Pick from the IIHS in the mid-size class!

It's enough to make anyone's head restraint a couple sizes bigger.

So just how does the Volkswagen Passat do all these things yet give off far fewer ego emissions than more expensive German sedans? Well, we could take a guess.

It's a Volkswagen.



TIME

July 10, 2006
Vol. 168, No. 2

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COVER: Photo-Illustration for TIME by Arthur Hochstein. Photograph of children by Penny Gentieu—babystock.com; nest from Getty Images



View from Gitmo: It's time to let outsiders in to see what's going on

COVER



PHOTO BY PATTY GENTIEU FOR TIME

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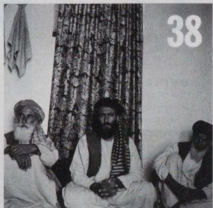
Pal or pest, role model or rival: siblings are the subject of some eye-opening new science that finds brothers and sisters have more to do than we ever expected with how we turn out

F. Scott Fitzgerald's was the Voice of his generation

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HULTON-DEPOT



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Tribal leaders in Afghanistan are asking for protection from the resurging Taliban

JAMAN NOSH—GETTY FOR TIME

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KATE BROOKS—POLARIS



PHOTO ESSAY

BEYOND THE VEIL Photographer Kate Brooks went from Iran to Oman to capture the diverse fashions of Muslim women. See her photos—and hear her talk about shooting them—at time.com this week.

Q&A

CLONING DOLLY ▼

For her story in this week's magazine, TIME's Alice Park spoke with Ian Wilmut, creator of the famous cloned sheep and author of *After Dolly: The Uses and Misuses of Human Cloning*. Read the interview at time.com/cloning.

PASCAL LE SEGRETTAIN—GETTY



COVER STORY

HE'S MY BROTHER, AND I'LL SAY WHAT I WANT

See what famous siblings have said about each other in a special photo essay at time.com/siblings

JAKE ON MAGGIE GYLLENHAAL

"We're really close. Maggie's my best friend."

MAGGIE ON BROTHER JAKE

"Jake is more honest with me than anyone else in my life."

EYE ON SCIENCE ►

In his blog at time.com/eyeonscience, Michael Lemonick casts his expert eye on everything from the possible tomb of King Tut's mom, right, to the mysteries of deep space.



BOB FLECH—DISCOVERY

QUOTES OF THE DAY

44

Officially, he's here to see the President. But I know the highlight of his visit will be paying his respects to the King."

George W. Bush, welcoming Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi

For more daily sound bites, go to time.com/quotes

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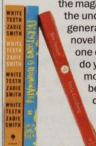
QUICK POLL

Last week's winner We asked time.com readers to choose their favorite of eight great summer songs. The winner by a wide margin: Shakira's *Hips Don't Lie*. Our condolences to the Beach Boys.



This week's question Book critic

Lev Grossman writes in the magazine about the under-40 generation of novelists. Which one of their books do you think is most likely to become a classic? Vote at time.com/bookpoll.



MARY MCCARTHY—CAMERA PRESS/REX

ASK JOE KLEIN

Political columnist Joe Klein writes this week about the Democrats' efforts to paint themselves as populists. Ask him your own questions at time.com/askjoe.



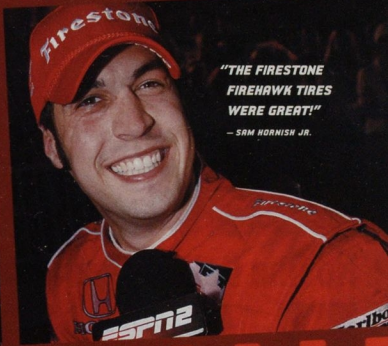
NALLAH FEANNY—CORBIS



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NATIONAL ARCHIVES



F.D.R. used security to justify Japanese prison camps in the U.S.

No One Gets a Blank Check



THE TENSION BETWEEN LIBERTY AND SECURITY IS AS OLD as the Republic—and as new as the latest high-tech listening device. In wartime, that tension very often plays itself out as a battle between the White House and the press. It is doing so again now. The script is ever the same: the White House asserts it is the protector of our security; the press maintains it is the guardian of our liberty. ■ The stories in the *New York Times* and other newspapers about the government's highly classified program to monitor bank records have provoked outrage from the White House. President George W. Bush called them "disgraceful" and said the revelations caused "great harm" to America.

Vice President Dick Cheney said the press had "made the job of defending against further terrorist attacks more difficult."

I do not know if they are right. What I do know is that Presidents in wartime assert that their constitutional responsibility for national security trumps any issue of civil liberties. Often that has meant trampling on them. From John Adams' Sedition Act to Lincoln's suspension of habeas corpus to Woodrow Wilson's draconian Espionage Act to F.D.R.'s internment of American citizens of Japanese descent, Presidents have constitutionally overreached. Last week's Supreme Court decision in the Hamdan case suggested that Bush had too—although his actions hardly compare with the examples above.

When the press runs a story the White House claims is harmful to security, the word disloyalty inevitably creeps into the conversation. The line between dissent and disloyalty, between harmful revelations and vital ones, is murky. Often we never really know. But I would argue that the judicious questioning of the conduct and morality of war is the furthest thing from disloyalty: it is an expression of deep patriotism and the essence of responsible citizenship.

Very often in our history, that task has fallen to the press. From

the publication of the Pentagon papers and the Watergate probe to *TIME*'s recent revelations about the tragedy at Haditha, our job is to speak truth to power. It is a messy process, and we have not always succeeded.

The framers guarded the freedom of the press in the First Amendment to make sure the press had the freedom to question the government. Jefferson and Madison believed that democracy could easily descend into tyranny and a vigorous press was necessary to prevent our leaders from getting too full of themselves.

There's not an editor in America who didn't wonder what he or she would have done in the case of the National Security Agency spying story and the recent Treasury revelations. It's impossible to say unless you had all the information before you and could hear the case the government made against publishing. But I believe the moral calculus of whether or not to publish is a basic one: Does the potential harm to public security outweigh the likely benefit to the public interest? If it does, hold fire. Attempting to answer that question isn't easy, but that's our responsibility not only as journalists but also as citizens.

This sometimes bitter crossfire between the government and the press is not a bad thing. In fact, such a rough-and-tumble debate is at the heart of American democracy, a 218-year-old seesaw over competing values that will and should continue for as long as we are a nation.

But I would urge you to listen closely to that debate. The government's assertion that it must be un hindered in protecting our security can camouflage the desire to increase Executive power, while the press's cry of the public's right to know can mask a quest for competitive advantage or a hidden animus. Neither the need to protect our security nor the public's right to know is a blank check. So listen carefully because, after all, you are the judge. It is the people themselves who are the makers of their own government. "The best test of truth," as Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes famously wrote, "is the power of the thought to get itself accepted in the competition of the market." ■

Richard

Richard Stengel, Managing Editor

BUDY ARCHULETA—REXUSA FOR TIME

**After 23 years of being named
“America’s Most Admired” company
in our industry, we’re still humbled.
(tickled, but humbled.)**

For 23 years, FORTUNE® magazine has surveyed life and health insurance companies, asking which company they most admire in the industry. And in each of those 23 years, our peers have named Northwestern Mutual “America’s Most Admired” life/health insurance company. We thank them for distinguishing us among what we consider a most distinguished group.

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—*Barton Gellman, *The Washington Post*

“A richly detailed and layered account of what some of the best-placed among the disgruntled say has occurred behind the scenes since the terrible events of Sept. 11, 2001. It makes for deeply unsettling reading and is a major contribution to our national conversation concerning these issues.”

—Tim Rutten, *Los Angeles Times*

“A meticulous work of reporting...Suskind’s book paints perhaps the most intimate and damning portrait yet of the Bush team.... The publication of *The One Percent Doctrine* is an important event....Suskind’s great achievement.”

—Gary Kamiya, *Salon*

“If journalism is the first draft of history, books like *The One Percent Doctrine* are the second draft. Historians will be grateful for it as they write the many final drafts in the decades to come.”

—Mike Hill, *The Baltimore Sun*

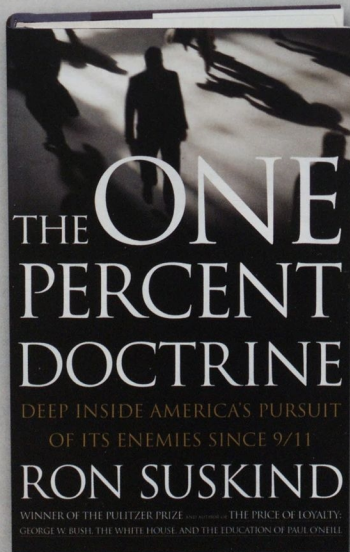
“The book...not only sheds new light on the Bush White House’s strategic thinking and its doctrine of pre-emptive action, but also underscores the roles that personality and ideology played in shaping the administration’s decision to go to war in Iraq.”

—Michiko Kakutani, *The New York Times*

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The End of al-Zarqawi

The killing of Abu Mousab al-Zarqawi, the ambitious and notorious leader of al-Qaeda in Iraq, removes a high-profile terrorist from the battlefield. But readers were skeptical about whether al-Zarqawi's death would hasten the end of the war—and whether it merited the big-red-X treatment on our cover

I WAS PLEASED THAT U.S. AND IRAQI forces killed the monster Abu Mousab al-Zarqawi, Iraq's most wanted terrorist [June 19]. President George W. Bush should rightly be enjoying an upturn in his political fortunes. I hope it's not wishful thinking to regard al-Zarqawi's death as a step toward peace and the welcome departure of coalition troops.

JEFF ROBERTSON
Yellow Springs, Ohio

TIME REPORTED THAT AL-ZARQAWI HAD A \$25 million bounty on his head and that an al-Qaeda informant pointed the way to him. Al-Zarqawi's death may have been, as you stated, "a desperately needed break for the White House and the U.S. military." Yet that break was bought and paid for, and money talks. The world is rid of an evil, warped mind, but let's tell it like it is.

WILDA FONSECA
Avon, Mass.

CROSSING OUT AL-ZARQAWI'S FACE in blood red sent a strong message. He was an embodiment of evil who deserved his fate, and your graphic statement was right on the money. Still, I bet that you received lots of protests from sothearted readers decrying the image.

PAUL G. REES
Tucson, Ariz.

I FOUND THE COVER IMAGE SO OFFENSIVE that I had no interest in reading the story. The picture promotes violence. Such disregard for human life is damaging to all of us, no matter who the victim of the attack is.

LEORA SAPON-SHEVIN
Syracuse, N.Y.

A PORTRAIT OF OSAMA BIN LADEN WITH a black question mark over his face would have made a more appropriate cover image. I am concerned that Americans are starting to believe bin Laden does not exist, Iraq caused 9/11 and war is the only way to defeat fundamentalists.

RACHAL CROMIDAS
La Jolla, Calif.



“The elimination of al-Zarqawi was important. But Iraq will not regain security and stability until U.S. forces are out of the country.”

MOHAMAD HASAN
Cairo

A City on the Seas

RE “A WHALE OF A BOAT” [JUNE 19]: NOT only do behemoth cruise ships, such as *Freedom of the Seas*, clog ports and squeeze in huge numbers of passengers, they also dump city-size volumes of sewage and bilge water—some of it treated, but much of it not. Every day these vessels foul harbors and coastal waters with millions of gallons of filthy water and pollute the air with diesel fumes. Cruise ships are exempt from most U.S. pollution laws. Until Congress increases regulation, floating cities will continue to foul our seas and air.

TERI SHORE
BLUEWATER NETWORK
San Francisco

YOUR ARTICLE ABOUT ROYAL CARIBBEAN'S new cruise ship painted a subtly negative picture of cruising, which is not warranted. I recently cruised on a sister ship that carries nearly as many passengers, and I was amazed at how well the crew handled so many people. There were few lines for boarding and dining, and I never felt I was in a large crowd. Many Caribbean islands cater to multiple ship dockings in one day, and local excursions are managed by the ships or taxi services with very little hassle.

JIM KASHISHIAN
Madrid

THE REPORT ON *FREEDOM OF THE SEAS* noted that the ship sailed out of Miami and made references to the Statue of Liberty, so readers might be left with the wrong idea about where the ship was built. The world's biggest cruise ship was built in Finland; it took about 7 million working hours to complete, in a nation of about 5 million people.

RAIKKO HYTÖNEN
Helsinki

Cave Art in Peril

THANK YOU FOR SHINING A WORLDWIDE light on the crisis in Lascaux, France [June 19]. Clearly, the cave and its irreplaceable paintings are still at grave risk. An international group of experts in cave art and conservation should be allowed to monitor and report to the world on the cave and its health. Lascaux is an expression of the earliest experience of being human. The cave's discovery in 1940 redefined what was known about human beings' creative development and ability to construct image from abstract thought. This critical leap and its resulting tangible evidence is invaluable to understanding global human heritage. We must take immediate steps to ensure that generations of our descendants have the benefit of Lascaux's lessons.

MELODY K. DI PIAZZA
INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE
PRESERVATION OF LASCAUX
New York City

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- ☐ Strongly Disagree

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Presented by

Microsoft



A CONTAGION OF FEAR



Nervousness about inflation and interest-rate hikes has been rolling world financial markets this summer. But the current concerns are nothing compared with the

anxiety described in our March 24, 1980, cover story on the troubled U.S. economy:

"As Jimmy Carter stepped before the television cameras in the East Room of the White House last Friday, his task was not just to proclaim another new anti-inflation program but to calm a national alarm that had begun to border on panic. Inflation and interest rates, both topping 18%, are so far beyond anything that Americans have experienced in peacetime—and so far beyond anything that U.S. financial markets are set up to handle—as to inspire a contagion of fear. **USUALLY CONFIDENT BUSINESSMEN AND BANKERS HAVE BEGUN TALKING OF LATIN AMERICAN-STYLE HYPERINFLATION, FINANCIAL COLLAPSE,** major bankruptcies, a drastic drop in the American standard of living... The biggest question of all is whether Carter's plans will have enough shock value to break the inflationary psychology that has gripped the nation... Executives talk of inflation rates going to 20% or more in the next few months, creating an environment in which reasonable planning is impossible. The jitters have unhinged the investment markets." Read more at timearchive.com.

One Tongue for All?

RE "IN PLAIN ENGLISH, LET'S MAKE IT OFFICIAL" [June 12], it was wrong for essayist Charles Krauthammer to argue against bilingualism by comparing the Hispanic immigrants of the U.S. to the Québécois of Canada. Francophones sailed up the St. Lawrence River almost a century before the English did. That means that the French and the French language deserve at least some kind of official status and recognition in North America.

DAVID KOJAOGHLANIAN
Montreal

IT'S WORTH NOTING THAT WHITEHOUSE.gov, the official website of the U.S. President, offers the option of viewing that site in Spanish. I suppose if English

were to become the official language, the website would have to change, and that could pose a problem at election time. Moreover, I think more revenue will be collected if tax forms continue to be available in Spanish. I suppose with the new mentality of Fortress America, if you're going to build walls to keep out the foreigners, you might as well use language to keep them out as well.

DAVE HORNE
Helvoirt, the Netherlands

A Rich, Impoverished Nation

CONGRATULATIONS FOR YOUR EXCELLENT report on the Democratic Republic of Congo [June 5]. It is a very rich country inhabited by an overwhelming majority of impoverished people, victims of foreign rapacity and the unlimited greed of some nationals. International cooperation is needed to halt the looting of Congolese resources, and to bring peace and efficient, honest democratic governance. Otherwise, the so-called First World will continue trying to stop African immigrants with walls, patrol boats and airport controls.

LUIS BELTRÁN
Alcalá de Henares, Spain

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TIME

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*Congratulations to these
outstanding youth volunteers!*

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION
of SECONDARY SCHOOL
PRINCIPALS



Michelle Loke, 14
Hartland, WI
Tested toys for
lead and then
campaigned to
ban them.



*Savannah
Walters, 13*
Odessa, FL
Protects the
environment
by urging drivers
to save gas.



Alexander Lin, 12
Westerly, RI
Led campaign to
recycle discarded
consumer electronics.



To find out more about the new age of volunteerism – and to read the
stories of our honorees – visit www.prudential.com/spirit.

Prudential Spirit of Community Awards 2006 National Honorees

Ajay Mangal, 18
Pascagoula, MS
Ignored his own losses while helping neighbors recover from Hurricane Katrina.

Geneva Johnson, 17
Bronx, NY
Founded an organization to create service opportunities for inner-city kids.

Evan Alicuben, 17
Hilo, HI
Installed "emergency dialers" for senior citizens.

Hillary Hughes, 12
Bedford, NH
Distributes personal care items to needy families around the world.

Kevin Peyton, 18
Sac City, IA
Created "barn quilts" to attract tourists to his rural county.

Nicholas Schwaderer, 17
Superior, MT
Built a radio station for a small community.

Ellie Ambrose, 12
Nashville, TN
Raised \$43,000 for sick and poor children in Africa.

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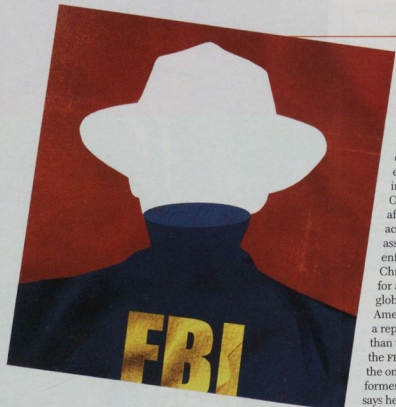
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*Destinations include those served by AAdvantage® participant airlines. The AAdvantage® program has eliminated blackout dates on award travel on American Airlines, American Eagle® and AmericanConnection® service. Flight awards are subject to AAdvantage® program rules and restrictions. Seats for award travel are limited, and may not be available on all flights. AAdvantage® miles can be redeemed for flight awards on American Airlines and AAdvantage® airline participants. Miles may not expire provided that once every three years you (i) fly on American Airlines, American Eagle® or AmericanConnection® carriers or an airline participant in the AAdvantage® program or (ii) have qualifying AAdvantage® participant account activity. AAdvantage® miles are earned on purchases only. The maximum number of AAdvantage® miles you can earn is 60,000 per calendar year with the Citi® / AAdvantage® card and the Citi® Gold / AAdvantage® World MasterCard; 100,000 miles per calendar year with the Citi® Gold / AAdvantage® Card and the Citi® Platinum Select® / AAdvantage® World MasterCard; and 150,000 per calendar year with the CitiBusiness® / AAdvantage® card (purchases recorded on your Jan. - Dec. billing statements). AAdvantage Executive Platinum®, AAdvantage Platinum® and AAdvantage Gold® members are exempt from these limits. American Eagle® and AmericanConnection® carriers are American Airlines regional airline associates. AmericanConnection® service is operated by one of the following independent contractors: Trans State Airlines, Inc., Chautauque Airlines, Inc. or RegionsAir, Inc. American Airlines reserves the right to change the AAdvantage® program at any time without notice and to end the AAdvantage® program with six months notice. American Airlines is not responsible for products or services offered by other participating companies. For complete details about the AAdvantage® program, visit www.aa.com/aadvantage. Purchase protection is for Gold, Platinum Select and CitiBusiness / AAdvantage® cardmembers. Buyers Security™ coverage on the Citi / AAdvantage® World MasterCard is underwritten by Titon Insurance Company. Purchase Assurance® coverage on the CitiBusiness / AAdvantage® MasterCard is underwritten by Virginia Surety Company, Inc. Certain conditions, restrictions and exclusions apply. Details of coverage are provided upon cardmembership. Citibank is not responsible for products or services offered by other companies.

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NoteBook



AN EXODUS OF AGENTS

OFFICE BIRTHDAY PARTIES MUST MAKE FBI DIRECTOR ROBERT Mueller a little nervous these days. Consider his No. 2, John Pistole, who hits retirement age when he turns 50 this month. For weeks rumors bubbled up to the seventh floor of the FBI's headquarters at the J. Edgar Hoover Building in

Washington: Pistole was going to bolt for a lucrative job in the private sector. The whispers got so loud that Pistole took it upon himself to assure Mueller that he wasn't leaving. One reason he gave: it wouldn't be right to

split when so many other senior officials have headed for the exits.

Years of pummeling by the press and Congress, plus wrenching changes produced by the bureau's shift in focus

to antiterrorism, have depressed morale, even in the highest ranks. That has coincided with lucrative employment offers to agents from firms desperate for experienced security chiefs in the wake of 9/11. On July 15, just weeks after his 50th birthday, acting executive assistant director for law-enforcement services Chris Swecker is to leave for a new job as head of global security for Bank of America, where he will earn a reported \$600,000, more than triple what he makes as the FBI's No. 3. Better pay isn't the only motivation—one former senior FBI manager says he quit after tiring of the “constant berating” he got from lawmakers when briefing Congress. “All these factors play into a decision to leave: family, finances, burnout, pressure, criticism,” he says. “You’ve worked your a__ off. Eventually you say, Hey, the heck with this.”

The turnover has hit some of the most vital positions in the bureau hierarchy. In five years, six different people have moved through the post of counterterrorism chief, overseeing what has been the FBI's core mission since 9/11.

And June 2 was the last day for 29-year veteran Gary Bald, 52, who retired just 10 months after being tapped to start up the FBI's new National Security Branch. He's taking a security job with Royal Caribbean Cruises.

Members of the Senate Judiciary Committee have been debating whether the brain drain at the FBI poses a threat to national security. “The FBI cannot be a revolving door for senior managers,” says Senator Chuck Grassley. “It needs stability in these important positions to fight in the war on terror.”

Mueller seems to agree. When promoting agents to

4

Ways to Visit with PRESIDENT BUSH

George W. Bush took buddy Junichiro Koizumi to Graceland last week, where the Japanese Prime Minister donned Elvis shades, strummed air guitar and intoned *Love Me Tender*. State dinners are rare under Bush, but he's entertaining foreign leaders in his own way.



TALKING POINTS

● Flag Burning

Trying to keep the issue alive
A constitutional amendment to allow a ban on burning Old Glory failed by one vote to pass the Senate last week. Ban backers plan to play up the issue before the November elections. But is this a burning question for most voters?



ANDY ARNOLD—GETTY

● Nuclear Countdown

Waiting to hear back from Iran
The G-8 nations expect Tehran to respond this week to an offer of incentives for halting its nuclear program. Whatever its reply—a hearty yes isn't likely—look for Iran to be high on the agenda at next week's G-8 summit in Russia.

● We're Having a Ball

Kudos to the World Cup host
It's a Cinderella-free, all-soccer-power battle for July 9's final. Whoever lifts the trophy, Germany has won: its *Willkommen* has been warm, and after decades of postwar ambivalence, its people have worn their colors with pride.

senior-executive levels, he "is trying to extract some promise as to how long they are willing to stay," says Michael Mason, who runs the administrative side of the FBI.

Grassley suggested to TIME that "the FBI needs to appeal to the patriotic spirit of its senior managers." But beyond that, the bureau is offering few tangible perks to make working there more attractive. Nor will the jobs be getting easier—Mason says new recruits should expect to be rotated

around the country and the world, even if it means uprooting their families, a practice that, for budgetary reasons, had waned in recent years.

Mason, however, is optimistic that the new generation of agents will make the sacrifices necessary for the job. At the Washington field office, he notes, 65% of the new recruits last year had taken pay cuts from previous jobs to work at the FBI. —By Brian Bennett and Adam Zagorin

The turnover has hit some of the most vital positions in the bureau hierarchy

► **HANDS ON** Bush's Crawford, Texas, ranch is the Administration clubhouse. Vladimir Putin of Russia and Mexico's Vicente Fox have visited, but it was Crown Prince Abdullah of Saudi Arabia, now King, right, who last year got the warmest touch. Most guests settle for a ride in Bush's pickup.



ALL PHOTOGRAPHY BY NICHOLAS W. ROY



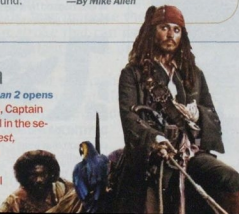
▲ **WHEELIE GOOD TIES** Egypt's Hosni Mubarak, King Abdullah of Jordan and British PM Tony Blair have visited Camp David, but Danish Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen got to pedal with the Prez in June. A buff Bush joked that he presumed his guest wouldn't "ride me into the ground."

MESSAGE IN A MEAL? The Presidents of Mexico, Poland, the Philippines and Kenya were honored by the teetotaling Bush with White House state dinners. The Chinese fought for Hu Jintao to be so feted when he visited in April—but had to settle for a "social lunch."

—By Mike Allen

● Ahoy, Again

Pirates of the Caribbean 2 opens Undead pirates aside, Captain Jack faces a new peril in the sequel, *Dead Man's Chest*, out July 7: living up to audience expectations after the original hit of 2003.



● A Dynamic Duo

ABC breaks ceilings at *Good Morning America* Wake up to the sound of shattering glass. Charlie Gibson is off to the evening news, leaving Diane Sawyer and Robin Roberts to say *Good Morning America* and make history as a.m. network TV's first male-free team of anchors.



“The audacity of the schemes, the scale of the waste—it is just breathtaking.”

SUSAN COLLINS, Republican Senator from Maine, on reports estimating that up to \$2 billion in post-Katrina aid was misused

“I don’t think it’ll look as dramatic as New Orleans, but when it’s your house...”

DON MAURER, New York State emergency management office spokesman, on massive flooding on the East Coast last week that forced more than 200,000 to evacuate and caused at least 16 deaths

“Berkeley has always had a foreign policy, the national one notwithstanding.”

ALBERT SUKOFF, resident of Berkeley, Calif., after the city council agreed to put to voters a symbolic measure calling for the impeachment of President Bush and Vice President Cheney because of Iraq

“We need to have a better definition of what constitutes work.”

MIKE LEAVITT, Health and Human Services Secretary, after the Bush Administration, in an effort to reduce welfare rolls, tightened rules that had in some cases allowed bed rest to qualify as work. Leavitt said many families “are not being challenged to find work”

“Don’t say, ‘I want to sleep.’ Get up and vote.”

ROLA DASHTI, economist and candidate in Kuwait’s parliamentary elections last week, urging women to cast ballots in the first poll in which they were allowed to run or vote. No woman was elected

“If we can just go back to our lives pre-Fluffgate, we’ll be fine.”

KATHI-ANNE REINSTEIN, Massachusetts state representative, after the withdrawal of a controversial proposal by state senator Jarrett Barrios to restrict the serving of Fluffernutters—marshmallow and peanut-butter sandwiches—in elementary schools

For more daily sound bites, visit time.com/quotes

Sources: New York Times (2); Reuters; AP; Washington Post; New York Times

Tomb Raiders

IT WAS A GOOD STORY WHILE IT lasted. In February archaeologists announced the discovery of a new tomb in Egypt's Valley of the Kings, the first since Howard Carter unearthed King Tut's final resting place in 1922. Inside the tomb were seven coffins, and on the basis of several clues—such as pottery with inscriptions identical to some found with Tut—Zahi Hawass, head of Egypt's antiquities council, speculated that Tut's mother Queen Kiya might be inside one.

But proving that tale true was always a long shot, say the scientists who excavated the tomb, which is near Tut's and is known as KV63. And as the last of the coffins was opened to great fanfare last week, the skept-



Hawass inspects the contents of the newly opened coffin

tics turned out to be right. There was no mummy—and no Mummy—inside. Still, that doesn't put KV63 in the same category as Al Capone's infamously empty vault. The coffin was filled with ancient embalming materials, strips of linen and funerary garlands and collars made of dried flowers. That, says lead excavator Otto Schaden of the University of Memphis, means KV63 may have been a storage cache, as another tomb proved to be. That's important for history—but it would have been a lot more fun to find a queen. —By Michael D. Lemonick.

Reported by Andrea Dorfman

The donations and pledges made by Warren Buffett—and Bill and Melinda Gates, who have given nearly \$26 billion to their foundation so far—eclipse those of other great U.S. philanthropists

Amounts adjusted for inflation



Andrew Carnegie

\$7.2 billion



John D. Rockefeller

\$7.1 billion



John Rockefeller Jr.

\$5.5 billion

\$37 billion
85% of Buffett's wealth will go to five charities

TO GIVE, DIVINE

INVESTING GURU WARREN BUFFETT—ABOVE RIGHT, WITH BILL AND MELINDA GATES—ANNOUNCED last week that he will gradually transfer more than \$30 billion of stock in his Berkshire Hathaway firm to the Gates Foundation, which works to improve global health and U.S. education. Each installment must be spent in the year it's given; the \$1.5 billion pledge for 2006 will double the foundation's current spending—and boost its already powerful impact. —By Jeninne Lee-St. John

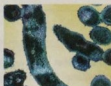
If the Gates Foundation were a country, its global-health spending in 2005 would place it just behind Finland in foreign-aid giving



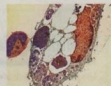
The foundation fights more than AIDS and malaria. Some of its recent grants are being used to battle these lesser-known diseases



GUINEA WORM DISEASE \$25 million to combat illness caused by a parasitic worm, which lives in fleas that infest standing water, mainly in Africa



DIPHTHERIA and other common diseases: \$1.5 billion for vaccinations to save up to 12 million lives



KALA-AZAR \$30 million to fight this usually fatal illness caused by a parasite spread by sand flies in South Asia



B26

1/2 mile to your gate won't keep you
from leaving on that jet plane.

You don't have to plan around your arthritis pain.

Is it the bags you carry? The gates you rush to? Or is it lifting your luggage into the overhead? If you have osteoarthritis, it colors everything you do. But you shouldn't have to miss out on the important things. Ask your doctor about prescription CELEBREX. It was designed to target the source of your pain, stiffness, and inflammation.

Just one CELEBREX provides 24-hour, all day and all night relief.

CELEBREX is one of the most studied arthritis medicines on the market. But you should know that CELEBREX, like all medicines, has both risks and benefits. It's important to talk to your doctor about treatment options to find out which one is right for you. Your doctor may also recommend other kinds of treatments.

Important Information: CELEBREX, like all prescription NSAIDs, may increase the chance of a heart attack or stroke that can lead to death. It should not be used right before or after certain heart surgeries.

Serious skin reactions or stomach and intestine problems such as bleeding and ulcers can occur without warning and may cause death.

Patients taking aspirin and the elderly are at increased risk for stomach bleeding and ulcers.

Tell your doctor if you:

- Are pregnant
- Have a history of ulcers or bleeding in the stomach or intestines
- Have high blood pressure or heart failure
- Have kidney or liver problems

People with aspirin-sensitive asthma or allergic reactions due to aspirin or other arthritis medicines or certain drugs called sulfonamides should not take CELEBREX.


Prescription CELEBREX should be used exactly as prescribed at the lowest dose possible and for the shortest time needed.

For more information, call 1-888-CELEBREX (1-888-235-3273) or visit www.CELEBREX.com

Please see important information about CELEBREX and other NSAIDs on next page.

CELEBREX
(CELECOXIB CAPSULES) 100 mg / 200 mg

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Medication Guide

for Non-Steroidal Anti-Inflammatory Drugs (NSAIDs)

(See the end of this Medication Guide for a list of prescription NSAID medicines.)

What is the most important information I should know about medicines called Non-Steroidal Anti-Inflammatory Drugs (NSAIDs)?

NSAID medicines may increase the chance of a heart attack or stroke that can lead to death.

This chance increases:

- with longer use of NSAID medicines
- in people who have heart disease

NSAID medicines should never be used right before or after a heart surgery called a "coronary artery bypass graft (CABG)."

NSAID medicines can cause ulcers and bleeding in the stomach and intestines at any time during treatment. Ulcers and bleeding:

- can happen without warning symptoms
- may cause death

The chance of a person getting an ulcer or bleeding increases with:

- taking medicines called "corticosteroids" and "anticoagulants"
- longer use
- smoking
- drinking alcohol
- older age
- having poor health

NSAID medicines should only be used:

- exactly as prescribed
- at the lowest dose possible for your treatment
- for the shortest time needed

What are Non-Steroidal Anti-Inflammatory Drugs (NSAIDs)?

NSAID medicines are used to treat pain and redness, swelling, and heat (inflammation) from medical conditions such as:

- different types of arthritis
- menstrual cramps and other types of short-term pain

Who should not take a Non-Steroidal Anti-Inflammatory Drug (NSAID)?

Do not take an NSAID medicine:

- if you had an asthma attack, hives, or other allergic reaction with aspirin or any other NSAID medicine
- for pain right before or after heart bypass surgery

Tell your healthcare provider:

- about all of your medical conditions.
- about all of the medicines you take. NSAIDs and some other medicines can interact with each other and cause serious side effects. **Keep a list of your medicines to show to your health care provider and pharmacist.**
- if you are pregnant. NSAID medicines should not be used by pregnant women late in their pregnancy.
- if you are breastfeeding. **Talk to your doctor.**

What are the possible side effects of Non-Steroidal Anti-Inflammatory Drugs (NSAIDs)?

Serious side effects include:

- heart attack
- stroke
- high blood pressure
- heart failure from body swelling (fluid retention)
- kidney problems including kidney failure
- bleeding and ulcers in the stomach and intestine
- low red blood cells (anemia)
- life-threatening skin reactions
- life-threatening allergic reactions
- liver problems including liver failure
- asthma attacks in people who have asthma

Other side effects include:

- stomach pain
- constipation
- diarrhea
- gas
- heartburn
- nausea
- vomiting
- dizziness

Get emergency help right away if you have any of the following symptoms:

- shortness of breath or trouble breathing
- chest pain
- weakness in one part or side of your body
- slurred speech
- swelling of the face or throat

Stop your NSAID medicine and call your healthcare provider right away if you have any of the following symptoms:

- nausea
- more tired or weaker than usual
- itching
- your skin or eyes look yellow
- stomach pain
- flu-like symptoms
- vomit blood
- there is blood in your bowel movement or it is black and sticky like tar
- skin rash or blisters with fever
- unusual weight gain
- swelling of the arms and legs, hands and feet

These are not all the side effects with NSAID medicines. Talk to your healthcare provider or pharmacist for more information about NSAID medicines.

Other information about Non-Steroidal Anti-Inflammatory Drugs (NSAIDs)

• Aspirin is an NSAID medicine but it does not increase the chance of a heart attack. Aspirin can cause bleeding in the brain, stomach, and intestines. Aspirin can also cause ulcers in the stomach and intestines.

• Some of these NSAID medicines are sold in lower doses without a prescription (over-the-counter). Talk to your healthcare provider before using over-the-counter NSAIDs for more than 10 days.

NSAID medicines that need a prescription

Generic Name	Tradename
Celecoxib	Celebrex
Diclofenac	Cataflam, Voltaren, Arthrotec (combined with misoprostol)
Diffunisal	Dolobid
Etodolac	Lodine, Lodine XL
Fenoprofen	Nalfon, Nalfon 200
Flurbiprofen	Ansaid
Ibuprofen	Motrin, Tab-Profen, Vicoprofen (combined with hydrocodone), Combunox (combined with oxycodone)
Indomethacin	Indocin, Indocin SR, Indo-Lemmon, Indomethagan
Ketoprofen	Oruvail
Ketorolac	Toradol
Mefenamic Acid	Ponstel
Meloxicam	Mobic
Nabumetone	Relafen
Naproxen	Naprosyn, Anaprox, Anaprox DS, EC-Naproxyn, Naprelan, Naprapac (copackaged with lansoprazole)
Oxaprozin	Daypro
Piroxicam	Feldene
Sulindac	Clinoril
Tolmetin	Tolectin, Tolectin DS, Tolectin 600

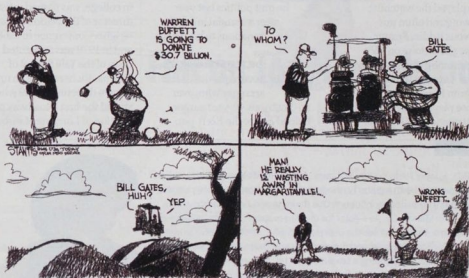
This Medication Guide has been approved by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration.

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NUMBERS

49,000 Estimated number of U.S. adults who died in 2005 of heart or lung disease associated with inhaling secondhand smoke, according to the Surgeon General

430 Estimated number of babies who died last year of a variety of sudden infant death syndrome caused by secondhand smoke

50 Age of the interstate highway system, authorized by President Eisenhower on June 29, 1956

\$1,292 Estimated savings each year by the average U.S. consumer due to more efficient shipments on interstates than on local roads

\$19,300 Average student-loan debt for the 62% of U.S. undergraduates who borrow to pay for college

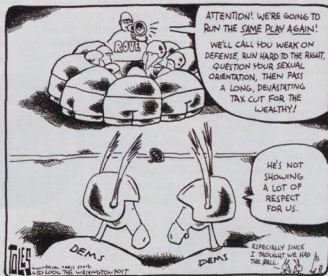
6.54% Interest rate on federal loans for current undergraduate and graduate-student borrowers as of last week, up from 4.7% and the highest rate in six years



“Much of Washington is flooded. Several government agencies had to close down, including the Justice Department and the IRS ... FEMA headquarters floated away.” **JIMMY KIMMEL**

“Star Jones Reynolds told the *Daily News* that she was told she was being let go from *The View* because her approval ratings had gone down. And President Bush said, ‘They can fire you for that!’”

JAY LENO



“Evidently there aren’t enough flag burnings in the news now. Is there no one who loves our flag enough to burn one just to remind us how horrible it is?”

STEPHEN COLBERT

For more political humor, visit time.com/cartoons



30,000 Average number of fighters the Transportation Security Administration (TSA) confiscates daily at airport checkpoints

80% Percentage of TSA-seized goods that are lighters, one of 68 items passengers are forbidden to carry on planes

Sources: U.S. Surgeon General (2); USA Today (3); ABC News; USA Today (2)

Milestones

CONVICTED. Richard Scrushy, 53, founder of HealthSouth, based in Birmingham, Ala., and Don Siegelman, 60, former Democratic Governor of Alabama; of bribery and mail fraud for a scheme in which Scrushy gave \$500,000 to Siegelman's campaign for a state lottery in exchange for a seat on a state board that regulated HealthSouth; by a federal jury; in Montgomery, Ala. The verdicts came one year after Scrushy, who still faces several civil trials, was acquitted of a \$2.7 billion accounting fraud at HealthSouth.

PLEADED GUILTY. Bernard Kerik, 50, ex-New York City police commissioner, whose quick responses in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks led President Bush to nominate him to be head of the Homeland Security Department before a variety of ethics questions forced Kerik to withdraw his name; to charges that he took gifts while in office without reporting them; in a deal that requires him to pay \$221,000 in fines but serve no jail time; in New York City. Kerik admitted accepting while correction commissioner \$165,000 in home renovations from a contractor who was seeking a license with the city. Kerik offered no apologies, saying, "Now I can get on with my business."

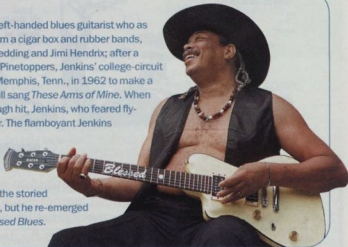
► **DIED.** Moose, 16, Jack Russell terrier who played the watchful, knowing and often mischievous Eddie, Frasier Crane's bête noire on TV's long-running comedy *Frasier*; in Los Angeles. Before retiring from films six years ago, Moose played the title role in the 2000 movie *My Dog Skip*.



a crisis over U.S. bases in Okinawa. An expert swordsman, he quit politics last year after a scandal involving donations to his party.

DIED. Arif Mardin, 74, record producer and arranger who, over an illustrious 40-year career, helped create the R&B-pop

DIED. Johnny Jenkins, 67, acrobatic, left-handed blues guitarist who as a boy jammed with a guitar he made from a cigar box and rubber bands, then went on to deeply influence Otis Redding and Jimi Hendrix; after a stroke; in Macon, Ga. As a gofer for the Pinetoppers, Jenkins' college-circuit ensemble, Redding drove the band to Memphis, Tenn., in 1962 to make a record for Stax Records, and during a lull sang *These Arms of Mine*. When the song became Redding's breakthrough hit, Jenkins, who feared flying, opted not to tour with the rising star. The flamboyant Jenkins impressed fellow lefty Hendrix, who incorporated some of Jenkins' antics into his repertoire after seeing him play in Macon. A few years after recording the 1970 classic *Ton-Ton Macoute!* for the storied Capricorn label, Jenkins fell out of sight, but he re-emerged in 1996 with the acclaimed album *Blessed Blues*.



DIED. RYUTARO HASHIMOTO, 68, controversial former Prime Minister of Japan; of multiple organ failure; in Tokyo. A short-tempered politician and dapper dresser, Hashimoto achieved international fame as Trade Minister in 1995, when he feuded with Washington in an auto-sales dispute. As Prime Minister from January 1996 to July 1998, he launched financial reforms modeled on London's "Big Bang" deregulation and defused

"Atlantic sound," won a dozen Grammys and artfully guided recordings by musicians who included Aretha Franklin, Chaka Khan, Bette Midler and, most recently, Norah Jones; of pancreatic cancer; in New York City. After his production *Good Lovin'* became a No. 1 hit for the Young Rascals in 1966, the Turkish-born

groundbreaking play *A Raisin in the Sun*. An inspiring drama teacher and cultivator of young talent, he championed such

young playwrights as Wendy Wasserstein, David Henry Hwang and, most famously, August Wilson, with whom he collaborated for 15 years. Richards won a Tony award for direct-



ing Wilson's *Fences* in 1987 and received a National Medal of Arts in 1993.

DIED. Abbye Stockton, 88, trailblazer for women's weightlifting known as the First Lady of Iron, who in 1947 organized the first official lifting meet for women; in Santa Monica, Calif. With husband Les, Stockton—nicknamed Pudgy for her childhood baby fat—helped popularize Muscle Beach in Santa Monica in the 1930s and '40s with demonstrations that included the human pyramid and the high press, in which she stood on Les' hands while balancing a 100-lb. barbell.

jazz lover arranged and co-produced two of the Queen of Soul's defining albums—*I Never Loved a Man the Way I Love You* and *Lady Soul*—and later suggested that Barry Gibb use the falsetto that came to epitomize the Bee Gees' 1970s disco sound in such hits as *Stayin' Alive* and *You Should Be Dancing*.

► **DIED.** LLOYD RICHARDS, 87, pioneer of African-American theater and Broadway's first black director; of heart failure; in Man-

UPDATE

Where Ayaan Hirsi Ali goes, controversy seems to follow—and linger. The Somali-born activist, named to 2005's *TIME* 100 for her campaign against Islamic extremism, quit the Dutch Parliament in May after being told she would be stripped of citizenship for lying on her 1992 application for asylum. Immigration Minister Rita Verdonk flip-flopped last week, saying Hirsi Ali's citizenship was safe. But the Dutch coalition government was not, and collapsed amid discord over Verdonk's original move. Hirsi Ali, 36, regrets that the citizenship issue was politicized and not debated more seriously. "This is absurd," she says. "The more this goes on, the more I think, Let's just all get on with life." She's moving to Washington to join the conservative American Enterprise Institute and is finishing her memoir. Its working title is a reminder that Hirsi Ali has no fear of stirring things up: "I want it to be called *The Infidel*." —By Jeff Chu



Joe Klein

Flat on Top, Fiery Inside

WHEN JON TESTER WAS 9 YEARS OLD, HE LOST THE MIDDLE three fingers of his left hand in a meat grinder. The only immediate impact of the accident, he says, was that "I couldn't play the saxophone and had to learn the trumpet, and I took a lot of crap from my schoolmates." There was a long-term political benefit, however: Tester, who is the Democratic candidate for the U.S. Senate from Montana, has the most distinctive hand wave in American politics, a thumb-and-pinkie hook-'em-horns waggle. Indeed, Tester's physical presence—he's a big old farm boy with a flattop crew

cut—is a political statement that stands close to the heart of the national Democratic congressional campaign of 2006. It says, I'm not a slick Washington guy. I'm a Montana farmer. After six years of a Bush Administration cozy with business, many Democrats are taking a flyer this year on full-throated populism.

Tester is not your average farmer, of course. He's a former public-school music teacher and a successful politician, the president of the Montana state senate. But in April, in the midst of a hot primary race, Tester took five days off from the campaign to seed his 1,800-acre farm in the eastern Montana flatlands. "Look, I do the things real people do. I plow; I seed, I harvest. I do some of my best thinking on my tractor," Tester told me as he campaigned in Whitefish, Mont., last week.

The U.S. Senate race in Montana promises to be iconic. Tester's opponent is the three-term incumbent, Senator Conrad Burns, who achieved national notoriety as the recipient of \$150,000 from associates of the felonious lobbyist Jack Abramoff, who later told *Vanity Fair*, "Every appropriation we wanted [from Burns' committee], we got..." Burns, who has said he wished Abramoff had never been born, is a Republican in a state that favored George W. Bush over John Kerry by 18 points in 2004. But he knows he's in a very difficult race, and the G.O.P.'s first campaign ad of the general election went straight to the heart of Tester's candidacy: his haircut. It features a barber who says, "Fella comes in for a trim on his flattop because he's running for U.S. Senate. Guess he didn't want anybody to know he opposes a gay-marriage ban. Thinks flag burning is a right. And supports higher taxes. So I told him, 'You're gonna need a lot more than a haircut to cover up all that'..." Didn't leave much of a tip either."

To which the Montana Democratic Party immediately responded with an ad that replayed the "tip" line of the ad and then went on: "Here's a tip. The man attacking Jon Tester is an actor. A fake, sent by Senator Burns' Washington friends to tell lies about Jon Tester... It's bad enough that Burns took thousands of dollars from sleazy lobbyist Jack Abramoff's associate and then changed his vote..." And so on.

Clearly, we are about to have a fun year in our beloved democracy. The Republican strategy is simple: focus on the really important issues like flag burning and gay marriage and keep accusing the Democrats of wanting to cut and run in Iraq. This time, however, the Democrats will be fighting back. In Virginia, for example, the campaign of Democratic nominee Jim Webb—a decorated Marine and a former Republican—responded to a Republican ad that accused him of supporting flag burning by saying, "People who live in glass dude ranches"—Webb's opponent, Senator George Allen, spent summers working on ranches while Webb was in Vietnam—"should not question the patriotism of real soldiers who fought and bled for this country on a real battlefield."

Not every Democratic candidate is a populist this year—after all, Hillary Clinton is running for re-election—but Webb, Ohio's Democratic Senate candidate Sherrod Brown and a raft of congressional candidates are running as no-holds-barred gutbucket populists, and most of the other Democratic candidates have touches of populism in their pitches.

In Tennessee, for example, moderate Democrat Harold Ford Jr. has embraced the right-wing House Republican immigration plan in his Senate campaign. "I don't think we ran an ad where [Republican beer baron] Pete Coors wasn't seen wearing a tuxedo," says Mandy Grunwald, who advised Colorado's successful Democratic Senate candidate Ken Salazar in 2004. "It's gotten to the point where every campaign is a populist campaign, and the strongest populist argument we have is the

Republicans' fiscal irresponsibility back in Washington."

Populism, historically, has been an angry political trope—but a new aw-shucks version of the little guy's lament has been growing out West with the success of candidates like Salazar and Montana's Democratic Governor Brian Schweitzer. Asked about alternative fuels in his first debate with Burns, Tester went full-court farmer. "If I weren't here right now," he said, "I'd be out getting a vegetable press so I could press my own oil to burn in my tractors and trucks." There wasn't much Burns could say to that. He had been out-Montana'd. He tried to blame the Democrats for blocking energy legislation. "Last time I checked," Tester shot back, "your party controlled the presidency and both houses of Congress." Which may be the ultimate comeback Democrats have this year.



Tester took a break from running for the Senate to seed his Montana fields

PHOTO: NIKOLAYEV

🔍 To see a collection of Joe Klein's recent columns, visit time.com/klein

Gitmo.



The court issues a stern rebuke, but as long as the prison remains open, why not improve it?

By NATHAN THORNBURGH

THE SUPREME COURT'S RULING IN *HAMDAN V. Rumsfeld* totals 185 pages and can be summarized in two words: Start over. If the Bush Administration wants to try terrorism suspects at Guantánamo Bay in special military tribunals, it can't just declare them legal—it needs to work with the other branches of government to make them so. That in itself was a rebuke to the Administration's claim that it alone can decide how to defend Americans from terrorism. What the court did not say—despite the exultation of civil libertarians and the outrage of advocates of executive power—is that Guantánamo has to be closed. In fact, there are plenty of people who believe it's possible to comply with the court's ruling while protecting American citizens and extracting useful intelligence from detainees. In other words, there are ways to fix Guantánamo.

How to Fix It

1. The White House must work with Congress

THE WHITE HOUSE FINDS ITSELF IN ITS CURRENT GUANTÁNAMO predicament because it didn't play well with the other branches of government—or even play with them at all. Republican Senator Lindsey Graham of South Carolina, a military lawyer (JAG), says he tried as recently as 18 months ago to interest the Administration in an amendment that would give tribunals congressional authorization. "I could not get agreement with the White House," Graham says. "They believed it wasn't necessary."

Now that it's beyond necessary, but legally mandated, the White House will find it has a far less compliant Congress than it would have had immediately after 9/11. Complicating matters further is that Congress is exhibiting its usual election-year pathologies. Democrats, wary of being lumped in with al-Qaeda should they introduce a bill that protects the rights of terrorism suspects, are calling on the White House to make the first move. Republican lawmakers are already divided between those eager to impress security-minded voters back home with a tough new tribunal and others, like Virginia's John Warner, who warn that moving too quickly or too carelessly might lead to another embarrassing showdown with the Supreme Court. It may take months to achieve the harmonic balance between good policy and good campaign agitprop, but any Guantánamo policy that eventually emerges could have greater certainty and legitimacy

CAMP 5 Detainees with the most valuable intelligence reside in 10-ft. by 20-ft. cells at this maximum-security facility



for having been forged through the chaos of democracy. "The message is that Congress has a role in the war on terror and the courts have a role in the war on terror," says Graham. "When we collaborate, all three branches, we're stronger as a nation."

2. Repatriate the small fish

"THE WORST OF THE WORST" WAS THE BUSH Administration's description of the type of combatant who ends up at Gitmo. But a Seton Hall University study culled from the government's own data found that only 8% of the camp's prisoners were actually fighters for al-Qaeda. More than half were not determined to have committed any hostile act against Americans or their allies. Even Salim Ahmed Hamdan, the detainee at the center of the Supreme Court case, was Osama bin Laden's chauffeur and bodyguard—hardly the criminal mastermind that requires a country to create a maximum security prison. To its credit, the government has been trying to repatriate the less dangerous detainees as well as those who probably should never have been there. "We want to get out of the Guantánamo business if we can," State Department legal adviser John Bellinger III said in a conference call last week, "while continuing to protect ourselves and protect others."

But repatriation is tricky. Many of the detainees' home countries either refuse to take them or haven't guaranteed that they won't be tortured upon their return. Take the case of the Uighurs—five ethnic Muslims from western China—who recently left Gitmo. The State Department didn't want to send the men back to China, where they are wanted by the authorities, but after contacting scores of countries the only willing host was Albania, where one speaks Uighur.

Regardless of the challenges, the Administration needs to continue to support the State Department's aggressive efforts to make sure that the small fish at Guantánamo move on. The logic that gave rise to the Administration's broad powers of detention, interrogation and surveillance is the logic of the worst-case scenario, of terrorist masterminds and ticking time bombs. It's consistent with that logic that a place like Guantánamo be reserved for only the most dangerous terrorists.

3. Process the habeas cases

MORE THAN 400 HABEAS CORPUS CASES, IN which Guantánamo petitioners are challenging the legality of their detention, are percolating around the country. Lawyers who filed some of those petitions tell TIME that they anticipate that the Supreme Court

HAMDAN'S LAWYERS
Navy Lieut. Commander Charles Swift, right, and Neal Katyal, left, meet the press



ruling will open a path for those cases to head up the chain of appeals. The Administration argues that the courts have no jurisdiction, and Congress barred judges from ruling on almost all future habeas appeals from Gitmo by passing the Detainee Treatment Act last December.

Terrorism trials in civilian courts have been a mixed bag—the prosecution of the Lackawanna and Portland cells ran smoothly, while al-Qaeda operative Zacarias Moussaoui took a federal court on a wild grandstanding ride worthy of Slobodan Milosevic or Saddam Hussein. The judges who hear the appeals may affirm that civilian courts are the wrong venue for Gitmo detainees, but the debate is too important—and too complex—to cut the judiciary out.

4. Live by the Geneva rules

THE SUPREME COURT MADE IT CLEAR THAT the Geneva conventions afford Gitmo detainees certain trial rights. Less certain is whether Geneva rights should now extend to cover interrogations at the camp. The White House has held that unlawful combatants are to be treated humanely but are not covered by Geneva, which prohibits "humiliating and degrading treatment." Some techniques, like shackling prisoners for 24 hours and leaving them in their own excrement, are known to have been used at Gitmo and would certainly fall under that definition. Regardless of what the prevailing interpretations of the Hamdan decision are, the government would do well to read the tea leaves and begin envisioning a world in which officials will be forced by a future ruling similar to Hamdan to gather critical intelligence while conforming to Geneva. Gitmo has always been a laboratory for the Bush Administration's edgiest ideas about how to fight the war on terrorism. Why not make it

a testing ground for an interrogation policy that is both humane and clearly legal under the Geneva conventions?

The era of Guantánamo as a fount of intelligence may already be ending, however. There is only so much intel you can glean from a man who has been interrogated for four years. The base commander, Navy Rear Admiral Harry Harris Jr., told TIME shortly before the Hamdan decision that 75% of detainees held at Gitmo no longer face regular questioning, and some haven't faced it in six months or longer. So, as with many of the other issues raised by the Hamdan case, perhaps the interrogation debate should move away from Gitmo and focus on other places around the world where the U.S. is holding enemy combatants.

5. Lift the veil of secrecy

GUANTÁNAMO HAS LONG SINCE CEASED BEING just a detention center for terrorism suspects. It's a symbol, and it shapes how the world views America and how Americans view themselves. While all three branches of government need to work in concert to balance the strategic and legal imperatives involved in fighting terrorism, the White House can take a huge step toward removing the discomfort about Gitmo by opening the operation to the outside world. A few journalists have been granted access to the facility following the coordinated suicides of three inmates last month, but camera crews and reporters are often hemmed in by minders and shepherded past buildings that have been the site of Guantánamo's harsher realities—the forced hunger strikers, the suicide attempts. If Guantánamo is legal and effective, now is the time for the government to prove it.

—Reported by Brian Bennett, Massimo Calabresi and Adam Zagorin/Washington

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Disorder in the Court

The Guantánamo decision revealed a vein of deep passion on the Supreme Court. Which is just what Chief Justice John Roberts hoped for

By JEFFREY ROSEN

ORDINARILY THE SUPREME COURT is not very much like *The View*. You won't hear much of the Justices' inner thoughts, let alone their outer ones. And with the exception of perhaps the Dalai Lama or, in his day, Alan Greenspan, they are the only people in power who can deliver their opinions and then steadfastly refuse to elaborate on them. Everything about the court's rituals is meant to keep the Justices behind the red velvet curtains and their emotions in check.

The first year of the Supreme Court under John Roberts, though, has not been ordinary. As evidenced last week when the court struck down the Bush Administration's use of military tribunals, the Justices are suddenly unafraid to talk to one another in personal terms. "We are not engaged in a traditional battle with a nation-state, but with a worldwide, hydra-headed enemy," wrote Clarence Thomas in an impassioned dissent. Thomas felt so strongly—he called the majority decision "unprecedented and dangerous"—that for the first time in his 15 years on the court, he read his dissent aloud. The ordinarily genial Stephen Breyer responded indignantly that the court did not "weaken our Nation's ability to deal with danger." Congress, he added, "has not issued the Executive a 'blank check.'"

The pointed back and forth was characteristic of the sometimes barbed, often unpredictable and really quite fun Roberts court. It began with a surprising number of unanimous decisions, but by the time it adjourned for the summer last week, in what Justice John Paul Stevens called a "cacophony" of discordant voices, the usual decorous costume drama that is

a Supreme Court term had morphed into something much closer—in vitriol, tension and drama—to a soap opera (O.K., a PBS soap opera). Having spent 11 years without a change in personnel, the Justices were clearly rejuvenated by two new colleagues, Roberts and Samuel Alito, and the energy fueled their opinions. Although the alliances on the Roberts court are still fluid, even the longest-serving Justices are debating issues that matter to the American people—the limits of death penalty, the war on terrorism—with unusual passion.

Despite the impression left by its rush of final decisions, the Roberts court is, at least so

far, less fractured than the court led for 19 years by William Rehnquist. Almost half its decisions this year had no dissents, compared with 38% in Rehnquist's final term, and the tally of 16 cases decided by a 5-to-4 vote is seven fewer than un-



der Rehnquist. That is a tribute to the personality and leadership skills of Roberts, who has made issuing strong decisions and encouraging collegial debate top priorities. In a commencement speech at Georgetown University Law Center in May, Roberts opened with some high-quality lawyer jokes, then set out his goals as Chief Justice: unanimity or near unanimity, which he thought would promote "clarity and guidance for lawyers and lower courts trying to figure out what Justices meant."

Roberts emphasized that a good court should decide cases narrowly so Justices on both sides can reach a meaningful consen-

**This would
sorely hamper
the President's
ability to
confront and
defeat a new
and deadly
enemy.**

—Clarence Thomas

**This does not
weaken our
ability to deal
with danger.
Congress has
not issued the
Executive a
'blank check.'**

—Stephen Breyer

sus. But he added an important qualifier: "There will of course be disagreements on the court, and these could and should not be artificially suppressed." Roberts practiced what he preached in his three dissents, using often forceful prose. "It is a sordid business, this divvying us up by race," he declared last week in the partisan-gerrymandering case, which left all but one of Texas' redrawn congressional districts in place. Earlier in the term, he attacked an opinion by Justice David Souter that held that a wife couldn't give the police permission to search a house over her husband's objection. "The majority reminds us, in high tones, that a man's home is his castle," Roberts wrote, "but even under the majority's rule, it is not his castle if he happens to be absent, asleep in the keep, or otherwise engaged when the constable arrives at the gate."

Souter responded in kind. "In the dissent's view, the centuries of special protection for the privacy of the home are over," he announced with an uncharacteristic note of melodrama. Having abandoned his famous Yankee reserve, he started to make a habit of it. During oral arguments in the *Gitmo* case, the government's lawyer seemed to suggest that Congress could suspend the writ of habeas corpus—which allows prisoners to challenge the legality of their detentions—inadvertently. Souter, incredulous, asked, "Isn't there a pretty good argument that a suspension of the writ [by] Congress is just about the most stupendously significant act that the Congress of the United States can take? The writ is the writ!" Antonin Scalia, one of the most reliable defenders of Executive power, insisted that Congress could suspend habeas corpus even if it didn't say so explicitly.

That mini courtroom brawl between Souter and Scalia, which had the overtones of an 18th century boxing match, was picked up again in the final days of the term. By a 5-to-4 vote, the court upheld a death-penalty verdict in Kansas, and Souter filed an agonized dissent listing recent cases in which DNA testing had led to innocent people's exoneration. Dripping with sarcasm, Scalia



chided Souter for encouraging the "sanctimonious criticism of America's death penalty" that he said was common in "some parts of the world." "I say sanctimonious," Scalia added, "because most of the countries to which these finger wagers belong had the death penalty themselves until recently."

Scalia is famous for picking intellectual street fights on and off the court, and this year he has been even more pugnacious than usual. In March, Scalia ridiculed the challenge to military tribunals during a speech in Switzerland. "Give me a break," he declared. "I had a son on that battlefield, and they were shooting at my son, and I'm not about to give this man who was captured in a war a full jury trial. I mean, it's crazy."

A few weeks later, when a Boston reporter asked whether his participation at a Mass for Catholic lawyers might raise questions about his impartiality, Scalia fanned the fingers of his right hand under his chin. "That's Sicilian," he said, explaining that the gesture meant he "could not care less."

Scalia can always be counted on to pick a fight, but what has changed this year is that other Justices, once relative wall-flowers, are increasingly emboldened to fire back in kind. In February, Ruth Bader Ginsburg, ordinarily a model of judicial composure, gave a speech in South Africa attacking critics in Congress who have assailed her citations of international law as an offense against U.S. sovereignty. Those criticisms, she said, "fuel the irrational fringe" and have encouraged threats on her life. She singled out Scalia, who had called the consultation of "alien law" a form of "sophistry."

Is the recent round of attacks and counterattacks a sign of internal animosity? Not necessarily. Ginsburg and Scalia, after all, are old friends, united by their love of opera and good cooking. For years they have spent New Year's Eve together, along with their spouses. (Ginsburg's husband Marty often cooks.) Certainly, there's nothing on the Roberts court resembling the antagonism among the Justices that raged after World War II. Consider the blood feud between Hugo Black and Robert Jackson, both appointed by Franklin Roosevelt. Jackson thought F.D.R. had promised to promote him to Chief Justice, but after a vacancy arose in

Rosen's latest book is *The Most Democratic Branch: How the Courts Serve America* (Oxford University Press)

The majority reminds us a man's home is his castle, but not if he's absent, asleep or otherwise engaged.

—John Roberts



The dissent does not discuss a single case—not one—in which it is clear that a person was executed for a crime he did not commit.

—Antonin Scalia

In the dissent's view, the centuries of special protection for the privacy of the home are over.

—David Souter

We are in a period of new empirical argument about how 'death is different.' False verdicts defy correction after the fatal moment.

—David Souter

1946, Black threatened to resign if Jackson became Chief. That led Jackson to fire off an unhinged letter to President Harry Truman and Congress, accusing Black of unethical behavior. The '40s produced another nasty rivalry: Felix Frankfurter was so intellectually condescending to Chief

Justice Fred Vinson that during one of the Justices' private conferences, Vinson rose from his seat and nearly punched Frankfurter in the nose. After Vinson died unexpectedly of a heart attack while the court was deciding *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1953, Frankfurter declared on the train back from the funeral, "This is the first indication I have ever had that there is a God."

By contrast, the Justices of the Roberts court are able to attack one another vigorously in public while maintaining cordial relations in private. Thomas, for example, has told students groups that he has never heard an uncivil word uttered at the Justices' conferences during his time on the court. And despite the disagreement in the military-tribunals case, Thomas is on good terms with his ideological opponent Breyer, who has praised Thomas' skills as a lawyer and photographic memory in technically complicated cases.

It's a good thing for the court and the country that the Justices of the Roberts court seem to be finding a way to disagree vigorously without taking it too personally. During his confirmation hearings, Roberts said, "It's my job to call balls and strikes and not to pitch or bat." Nevertheless, the court under his leadership will continue to decide some of the most momentous questions of American life. It has already agreed to hear important cases next term on the boundaries of affirmative action and abortion. Those are questions about which all the Justices have extremely strong views, and the fact that they are not shy about expressing them helps citizens on both sides of the issues feel as though their own views have been strongly represented and thoroughly aired.

Still, the Roberts court is walking a delicate line. History suggests that the moment the Justices begin to take their legal disagreements too much to heart, the court may fracture in ways that even the most capable Chief Justices are unable to repair. For that reason, all the Justices might do well to remember Ginsburg's advice for keeping your cool in the face of attacks. "I sometimes find myself alone in chambers momentarily distressed or annoyed," Ginsburg told actress Marlo Thomas in 2002, "thinking, 'I'd like to strangle Justice So-and-So.' At times like that, Ginsburg said, she remembers the advice of her mother-in-law on her wedding day: "Of course, it is important to be a good listener—but it also pays, sometimes, to be a little deaf."



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Mike Allen

Looking for Friends in Very Strange Places

On a European charm offensive, Bush calls on allies—wherever they may be

PETER THE GREAT BUILT St. Petersburg on Russia's far northwestern edge as a strategic window on Europe. On his way to this year's G-8 summit in St. Petersburg, President Bush will stop off at his own strategic window on Europe: Stralsund. If you've been to Stralsund, the question might be, Why? The town, once in East Germany, has a population of about 60,000 and is famous for a local berry drink that tastes like flat, bitter orange soda. All that matters to the President, though, is that Stralsund was once represented in the Bundestag by Angela Merkel, who unseated Gerhard Schröder last fall to become Germany's first female Chancellor. Bush and Schröder barely spoke, but Bush and Merkel hit it off when she visited the White House in January, and the overnight Stralsund detour is indicative of the President's new stab at European diplomacy: find friends, even if the effort takes you to out-of-the-way places.

The President's image across Europe is so poor that in a recent poll on the Continent,

a majority of respondents said the U.S. was more of a threat to world stability than China or Iran. When questioned about that poll at a news conference in Vienna last month, Bush snorted at what he considered an "absurd statement" and said, "For Europe, September 11 was a moment; for us, it was a change of thinking. I vowed to the American people I would do everything I could to defend our people, and will." The retort was part of the confident, non-defensive approach Bush took during 44 hours in Vienna and Budapest. "Let me talk about Guantánamo," he said early in one meeting, not waiting for his hosts to bring up the unpleasant subject of the military detention center. (It's a subject that, because of the Supreme Court ruling, is still likely to be a staple of the questions at his European press conferences this week.) The massive demonstrations that had been predicted in Austria did not materialize, and Bush was tickled when Austrian

President Heinz Fischer slathered praise on the U.S., recounting the Marshall Plan's role in rebuilding his country after World War II and calling the poll's results "grotesque."

Bush occasionally got crabby on European trips early in his presidency; in 2002, after enduring days of anti-American demonstrations, he famously called NBC's David Gregory a preening "intercontinental" when Gregory asked French President Jacques Chirac a question in French. But Bush's advisers believe he has discovered a formula for dealing with the Continent that is working for him. The White House concentrates his visits and speeches on friendly countries and largely ignores the recalcitrant ones. "We're building relationships where there are relationships to build," said a White House official. That explains why the President spends so little time in France and Spain—the blue states of Europe—and so much in Poland, Lithuania and Slovakia, countries once behind the Iron Curtain where his odes to democracy are particularly resonant. Beyond just visiting, Bush has been pushing for the eastward expansion of NATO and the European Union, which would give the map of Europe more of a red-state look.

White House aides say that this is diplomacy pure and

simple and that it would be wrong to give the President's approach a political cast. But advisers admit that Bush the healer and Bush the diplomat are the White House theme music for his last two years in office—out of necessity, because of the need to enlist Europe in pressuring Iran and North Korea and as part of an effort to burnish the President's legacy.

So he's trying to gain converts, one country at a time. In Vienna, First Lady Laura Bush toured the original megachurch, St. Stephen's Cathedral, built in the 1100s, and the President was jolly enough to tease a photographer about his tumbleweed-like hair. Austria was having a heat wave, but Bush patiently answered personal questions from students under hot lights and tapped along as the Vienna Boys' Choir offered up *On the Beautiful Blue Danube*. Afterward, one of the boys presented the President with a teddy bear. The boy was from Ohio. The President asked him how the Reds were doing. At least for a moment, Europe didn't seem so alien. —With reporting by

Michael Elliott/London

“We’re building relationships where there are relationships to build.” —WHITE HOUSE OFFICIAL

SPECIAL ATTENTION: Bush takes his pro-democracy pitch to friendly places like Hungary

CHRISTOPHER MORRIS—VI FOR TIME





GOING IN

Israeli soldiers, above, receive their orders to move into Gaza; Palestinians, below, survey the ruins of a bridge hit by an Israeli air strike



SEARCH & DESTROY

The abduction of a young soldier prompts a punishing Israeli raid against Hamas. But hopes for Middle East peace might have been shattered in the process

■ **By Romesh Ratnesar and Phil Zabriskie/Gaza**

IF YOU HAD TO SEARCH FOR A MISSING PERSON, FEW PLACES IN THE world would be more forbidding than the sandy 28-mile-long sliver of land known as the Gaza Strip. Its cities are a chaotic maze of dusty alleyways lined by warrens of crumbling buildings that each seem indistinguishable from the next. The 1.4 million people who live there make it the most densely populated patch of land on earth. At times, the streets and souks can become a suffocating crush of human congestion. And the task of finding a lost soul is made more hazardous by the long-held air of

suspicion and gangs of gunmen ready to open fire on outsiders who tread on their turf.

Somewhere in that inhospitable landscape, Corporal Gilad Shalit, 19, a soldier in the Israeli army, awaited his fate last week. Abducted by Palestinian militants at an army post in Israel and smuggled into Gaza on June 25, he might not have known that his captivity had set off a furious Israeli campaign to try to save him—and in the process, propelled both sides to the brink of full-scale warfare. While surveillance drones buzzed overhead, some 7,000 troops, 80 Israeli tanks and 180 armored personnel carriers massed at the border with Gaza, territory Israel evacuated less than a year ago. The Israelis seized Gaza's dilapidated airport to prevent Shalit's kidnappers from moving him out, with units ready to mount a rescue raid if Israeli in-

telligence or its informants picked up word of Shalit's whereabouts. Had the offensive stopped there, it might have seemed to most people a defensibly legitimate, if extraordinarily intense, operation for a single soldier's life.

But it didn't stop there. Whatever support the Israelis had for the mission was undermined by the lead-footed way in which it was carried out. In the first days of the operation, Israeli warplanes wrecked three bridges and several roads inside Gaza. The F-16s overhead repeatedly broke the sound barrier, producing thunderous sonic booms on the ground. Most shocking was Israel's destruction of all six transformers at Gaza's central power plant, cutting off electricity to 45% of the territory's inhabitants. Israeli officials insisted they took such measures to aid in the hunt for Shalit, but few



Corporal Shalit, 19, was kidnapped as his shift ended on June 25

MEET ISRAEL'S NEW ENEMY NO. 1

Palestinians believed it. In their eyes, the Israeli assault on Gaza's basic infrastructure had less to do with finding the missing soldier than inflicting collective punishment. "We have learned from past experience that Israel uses the opportunity to implement scenarios and schemes it has," says Rafiq Hussein, chief of staff to Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas. "It's obviously not about one soldier."

He may be right. The Israeli offensive sent a message not just to the militants holding Shalit but also to the Palestinian leadership, which Israel accuses of abetting rising violence against Israeli soldiers and citizens. A senior Israeli security official says some members of Prime Minister Ehud Olmert's government believe the crisis is an opportunity to smash the authority of Hamas, the militant organization that won control of the Palestinian Authority in elections earlier this year. That aim became evident when Israeli forces arrested eight Palestinian Cabinet ministers and 40 Hamas parliamentarians in the West Bank, who may be charged with membership in terrorist organizations, affiliation with terrorist leadership and other violations. Israeli Interior Minister Ronnie Bar-On tells TIME that the arrests had been planned for weeks and that the ministers would not be used as bargaining tools to win Shalit's release. But with one-third of the Hamas-led Cabinet in jail and much of the rest of it hiding from the threat of assassination by Israeli air strikes, the moves effectively rendered the Hamas government impotent—a reality Palestinian Prime Minister Ismail Haniya acknowledged in a public appearance in Gaza City last Friday. "They aim to topple the government," he said.

That strategy, though, carries dangers. Already Palestinian militants have retaliated for the Israeli assault—which, for all its ferocity, killed one Palestinian fighter in three days—by kidnapping and murdering an Israeli teenager. The fallout from the Shalit saga is only hardening attitudes on both sides, making the Bush Administration's goal of forging a Middle East peace deal and a Palestinian state more remote. To Israelis, the soldier's abduction and the Palestinians' initial failure to secure his release have highlighted the fecklessness of both Hamas and Abbas, until now the one Palestinian leader acceptable to Israel. Among the Palestinians, the perception that Israel has acted unlawfully by trying to undermine their elected leaders will probably strengthen Hamas, not weaken it. And by leaving the Gaza Strip in tatters, the Israelis risk planting even deeper seeds

When Israeli F-16 fighter jets shrieked low over the summer palace of Syrian President Bashar Assad last Wednesday morning, the message was clear: Stop sheltering Khaled Mashaal, the exiled leader of Hamas who is No. 1 on Israel's hit list.

"He is definitely in our sights," says Israeli Justice Minister Haim Ramon. "He is a target."

Mashaal, who lives in Damascus under Syrian protection, is suspected by the Israelis of having ordered militants to kidnap Corporal Gilad Shalit and take him to the Gaza Strip, although Hamas and other Arab officials insist Mashaal was not directly involved. The Israelis believe he ordered the high-stakes hostage taking to scupper attempts by the Hamas-led government to join in unity talks with moderate Palestinian leader Mahmoud Abbas that would implicitly recognize Israel's right to exist.

The Israelis once tried to kill Mashaal and nearly succeeded. In 1997 two Israeli Mossad agents in Amman tried to assassinate Mashaal, who was allegedly running money and supplies to Palestinian militants in the occupied territories, by smearing his neck with poison. Both would-be assassins were caught, and as Mashaal was dying from the lethal toxin, Jordanian authorities made a deal: they would release the captured Mossad

of hate. If the situation worsens, says Hussein, "the losers would be the Israelis as well [as the Palestinians] because they will not have peace. They will not even have the chance of peace."

Even before Shalit's kidnapping, it would have been a stretch to call the atmosphere placid. For months Gaza militants have fired homemade rockets at Israeli towns, usually missing but causing some injuries and great misery, and drawing Israeli artillery barrages in response. Tensions escalated early last month after seven members of a Palestinian family died in a Gaza beach explosion, which Palestinians blamed on an errant Israeli artillery shell. (Israel denied responsibility.) That prompted Hamas leaders to renounce a 16-month-old cease-fire with Israel, giving an array of Palestinian guerrilla groups the green light to stage a high-profile attack.

According to an Israeli military-

agents in exchange for an antidote to save Mashaal's life. The Israelis complied, and the uproar generated by the botched assassination attempt catapulted Mashaal to the top tier of Hamas' leadership, which had been depleted by Israel's targeted killings.

Mashaal, 50, a charismatic ex-physics

professor, has remained a thorn in Israel's side. Because Israel has barred Hamas' elected leaders, including Prime Minister Ismail Haniya, from traveling outside the occupied territories, Mashaal, from his exile in Damascus, has been the militant movement's most effective spokesman and fund raiser. Owing to his lobbying, Iran has pledged \$100 million in aid to the Hamas-led government, crippled by a five-month

economic blockade imposed by Israel and others in the international community. In the past, Israel showed little hesitation in hitting Hamas militants inside Syria with air strikes, and the buzzing of Assad's Latakia palace shows the Israeli military might be prepared to do so again. Mashaal has gone

The Israelis once tried to kill Mashaal in Amman by smearing the back of his neck with poison

MR. OUTSIDE

Shown listening to the Iranian national anthem in Tehran last February, Mashaal, center, secured \$100 million in Iranian aid for the Hamas government

intelligence officer, the June 25 assault on the Kerem Shalom army post was weeks in the planning. Two days before the raid, Israeli special forces kidnapped two Hamas militants in Rafah, Gaza. After interrogating the detainees, the troops alerted military commanders that an attack was imminent. "The alert didn't include the color of the underwear of the militants," says the officer. "But it was very specific." It wasn't enough. At 5:30 a.m. on June 25, six Palestinian militants emerged from a tunnel dug 10 yds. deep and stretching from a private house on the Palestinian side of the border to the rear of the Israeli base. Two of the militants fired a rocket-propelled grenade at a tank carrying four Israeli soldiers, including Shalit. Two soldiers jumped from the tank and were shot dead. The militants dragged Shalit away and smuggled him through a hole cut in the fence separating Gaza and Israel. When reinforcements finally arrived, they found Shalit's

into hiding, Hamas sources say, but is still believed to be in Damascus.

There is no clear evidence that Mashaal was responsible for the soldier's kidnapping. According to Palestinian sources close to Hamas' secretive inner workings, Mashaal had no motive for sabotaging any future peace talks between Prime Minister Haniya and the more moderate President Abbas. To the contrary, says Osama Hamdan, Hamas' chief representative in Lebanon, Mashaal was instrumental in persuading Haniya and other Hamas leaders to accept Abbas' peace proposal, a plan based on a document crafted by Palestinian prisoners

inside Israeli jails that indirectly accepts Israel's right to exist. According to Hamdan, Mashaal "reached a kind of unity among Palestinians."

Palestinian sources tell *TIME* it's more likely that Shalit's abduction was planned by a radical Palestinian faction that believes Hamas' leaders were giving away too much to the Israelis. Whatever the case, the Israelis have made it clear that as long as their young soldier is a hostage, Mashaal's life is in danger too. —**By Tim McGirk. With reporting by Nicholas Blanford/Beirut, Jamil Hamad and Aaron J. Klein/Jerusalem, and Scott MacLeod/Cairo**



JAMIL HAMAD/REUTERS

bloody vest, suggesting he had been wounded in the grab.

The Israelis believe Shalit was taken to a hiding place that had been prepared in advance, probably a cellar or cave under a house in the area surrounding Rafah, a teeming city of refugee camps of some 250,000 people. Three separate groups claimed responsibility for the abduction, including the military wing of Hamas, which Israel charged was acting on the directions of Khaled Mashaal, the Hamas supremo in Damascus (see box). Two days into the Gaza incursion, Olmert ordered Israeli forces to halt their advance to allow for a mediation push by Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak. On Friday, Mubarak claimed that Hamas had agreed to release Shalit, but Shalit's captors demanded the release of 1,000 Palestinian prisoners, which Israel refused. Haniya's spokesman, Ghazi Hamad, told *TIME* that was the militants' demand, not the gov-

ernment's. "We want to avoid further escalation and end this problem very quickly." But the Israeli intelligence officer says even if a deal were brokered, the kidnappers might have gone so far underground that they would have had no way of hearing about it. Hamas' record is sobering: of the dozen soldiers it has kidnapped since 1988, all have been killed.

That, in part, explains the ardor of the Israelis' effort to find Shalit. Olmert, who took office after Ariel Sharon's stroke in January, had little choice but to go into Gaza, given the Israeli public's deep identification with the army, in which most Israeli citizens have served. Lacking any counterpart on the Palestinian side that it trusts, Israel has taken a "shake the trees" approach, putting as much pressure as possible on the government and civilian population in the hopes that someone would turn on Hamas. But it's difficult to see how some Israeli tactics, particularly the strike

on the Gaza power supply, can do much other than deepen the Palestinians' misery. Already crippled by the West's financial blockade against the Hamas government, the Palestinian Authority, along with U.N. offices in Gaza, must now find a way to run sanitation systems, water supplies and hospitals with nearly half the power down—in 90° heat. "I'm not sure how depriving half the population of electricity will help Shalit get released," said Alvaro de Soto, the U.N.'s chief envoy to the Middle East. "I really can't imagine what they were thinking."

Whether Israel can succeed in bringing down Hamas is also questionable. In Gaza there are signs that the Israeli offensive has bolstered support for the beleaguered Hamas leadership. In Rafah and other Gaza cities, Hamas' resistance to the pressure is being seen as almost heroic. Even if the government falls, Hamas won't go away. Indeed, a collapse could boost the group's more militant factions, which would prefer to abandon the political process and return to armed struggle. "This will help Hamas because they have been saying they do not trust the Israelis," says Saied Zourob, an official in Gaza who belongs to Fatah, the party of Abbas, who called for Shalit's release. "Abbas has been saying that people should respect them and the

peace process, but now the Israelis are pushing people toward Hamas and the resistance."

Lost amid the uproar last week was a small reason for optimism: an agreement between Hamas and Fatah to begin talking about forming a unity government that went further toward recognizing Israel's existence than Hamas had ever done before (without actually doing so). That raises the possibility that Israel might eventually be persuaded to restart negotiations with the Palestinians rather than pursue solutions on its own. But will the Israelis be in a mood to talk anytime soon? "Things are so confused and not conducive to any kind of peace process," says Walid Awad, an Abbas aide in the West Bank. "An element of good judgment and patience is missing." It may be a while before it comes back. —**With reporting by Christopher Albritton and Aaron J. Klein/Jerusalem**

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A man in a dark suit and tie is walking towards the right, pulling a black rolling suitcase. He is looking towards a woman on the right. The woman has curly red hair and is wearing a dark long-sleeved top, light-colored trousers, and a long necklace. They are in a modern office hallway with white walls and a large orange wall in the background. A blurred figure of another person is walking in the background between them.

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DEADLY NOTES IN THE NIGHT

How the Taliban is using a new kind of terrorist threat to intimidate Afghans

By ARYN BAKER KANDAHAR

THE LETTERS APPEAR AT NIGHT, pasted to the walls of mosques and government buildings and promising death to anyone who defies their threats. Mohammed Qasim, a janitor in Kandahar, ignored the first night letter that appeared at a mosque in his village last month, which warned residents to stop working for the Afghan government. Qasim had lied to his neighbors, telling them that he worked as a tailor—not at a police station 10 miles away. Then the second letter arrived. “Once this government falls, we will be in power. We will have your documents, your résumés, your names and your addresses. We will come and punish you,” it read. Now Qasim doubts that he can keep his job, which pays about \$40 a month, not a lot by Afghan standards but enough to dream about giving his two sons opportunities he never had. “If it gets any worse, I will have to leave,” he says. “I don’t trust that the government or the police can protect me.”

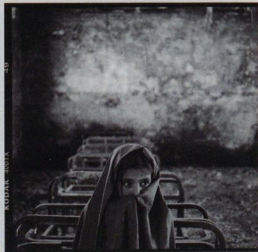
Night letters—menacing notes posted under the cover of darkness—have become a potent weapon in the Taliban’s widening campaign against the symbols of authority in the new Afghanistan. The tactic is aimed at sowing doubt and fear among Afghans, with the ultimate goal of reimposing the Taliban’s primeval control over parts of the country—and it’s working. The campaign took a lethal turn three weeks ago, when Taliban fighters



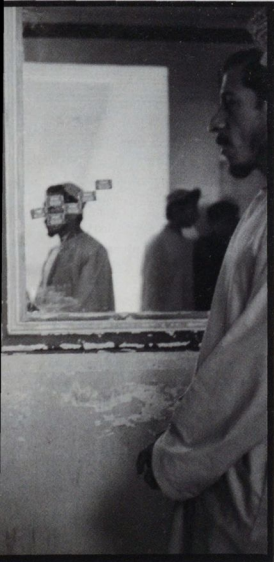
MIDNIGHT MISSIVE

In this note, the Taliban warns Afghans against siding with the U.S. A translation:

“The Americans have occupied your country, and they are spreading their infidel ways. Now it is time for you to leave them and join the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan. The Taliban has started jihad, and our mujahedin are fighting with the biggest enemy of Islam in Afghanistan. We are informing you people to split from them.”



blew up a busload of Afghan laborers heading to work at a U.S. military base near Kandahar, killing eight. Atrocities like that are commonplace in America's other battleground in the war against terrorism, Iraq, but the bombing represented the first large-scale attack on Afghan civilians working with coalition forces since the U.S. toppled the



STRUGGLING TO SURVIVE

Police Captain Jammilla Bargzai, above left, says the Taliban uses night letters as a weapon of intimidation. For Mohammed Qasim, above right, they are terrifying enough to persuade him to quit his job as janitor at Bargzai's Kandahar station. The Taliban is suspected of having burned down the school in Dand, where Kamilah, 8, left, used to study

Taliban in 2001. And sometimes the threat of violence is as effective as the real thing. Night letters left across southern Afghanistan, the Taliban's stronghold, have slowed government services and brought reconstruction projects to a halt. In Kandahar province, many police officers have quit, and after letters appeared threatening employees, two medical clinics were shut down. In the past two months, insurgents have burned down 11 schools in the region. Some of the attacks were presaged by night letters warning parents to keep their children home.

The success of the Taliban's intimidation blitz has added to Western concern about President Hamid Karzai's govern-

ment, which remains unable to assert its authority much beyond the capital city, Kabul. "In many respects, I think that this insurgency is less about insurgent strength than government weakness," says Ronald Neumann, U.S. ambassador to Afghanistan. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice appeared in Kabul last week in a show of support for Karzai, while 10,000 coalition troops launched a fresh offensive against Taliban insurgents in the south. But few Afghans believe the threat posed by the resurgent Taliban is close to being extinguished—and some are doubtful that the NATO forces assuming control of southern Afghanistan will be able to hold the insurgents at bay. "In 2001 the coalition toppled the Taliban in two months. Why can't the coalition stop the Taliban now?" asks Agha Lalai Destagiri, a provincial-council member who lives in Panjwai village, 16 miles southwest of Kandahar. "It means the Taliban has become too strong for the coalition. That scares us."

For the Taliban, the night letters are a cost-effective way to exploit such anxieties. "They don't have weapons to come to town to fight," says Captain Jammilla Bargzai, head of the Kandahar police department's crime-investigation unit. "Their only weapon is to scare people." Her

bravado fades when she begins to talk about her own fears. Bargzai hasn't seen any night letters posted in her neighborhood, but her neighbors have told her that strangers on motorbikes have asked about her and marked her house. She has moved six times in the past year. "If I see a strange man in my neighborhood more than three times in a week, I know it's time to move," she says. She used to carry her AK-47 to work but was worried that the gun's silhouette under her burqa betrayed her identity. Now her Smith & Wesson pistol—a gift from coalition forces—is her only source of protection. "I want to stay and do my job," she says. "But I have an 8-year-old daughter. If the government can't protect me, I will have to leave."

The Taliban isn't relying just on violence to shake Afghans' faith in the authorities. The rise in crime in Kandahar has provoked a new round of letters, reminding people how safe the city was under the Taliban regime. Many are starting to listen. "Life under the Taliban was not good," says Hyatullah Rafiqi, Kandahar's education administrator. "But it's

not good now. At least with the Taliban we had security." Rampant corruption, police abuse and an unchecked drug trade have bolstered the Taliban claims. A former *mujahedin* commander who fought with the Taliban against the occupying Soviet army in the 1980s says the Taliban now has a dedicated propagandist who furthers the cause by perpetuating and promoting rumors of police graft and government failures. The Taliban even maintains a website that lists occurrences of police corruption and reports of coalition attacks on innocent civilians (www.alemurah.org, in Pashto and Arabic).

Critics fault Karzai and the 26,000 allied troops in Afghanistan for failing to strengthen institutions like the police. In Kandahar, Asadullah Khalid, the governor, is desperate to counter Taliban propaganda with a more robust police force. He estimates that he has only 40 officers for every 100,000 citizens. (By comparison, New York City has 40 officers for every 8,000 civilians.) He says he has petitioned Karzai's government for funding for a larger police force but says he has received little response. The police situation in Kandahar province is emblematic of the country as a whole. That there is widespread police corruption is no surprise given the lack of training, funds and firepower, notes Abdul Salaam Rocketi, a former *mujahedin* commander and a Member of Parliament. "If you have a dog and you don't feed it, it will knock on other doors."

So life for Afghans across the country continues to swing between hope and cruelty. In Panjwai, where a U.S. air strike in May killed 24 suspected Taliban along with 16 civilians, wails of mourning were mixed with sighs of relief that the Taliban might finally have been defeated. But then the night letters resumed, warning villagers not to become puppets of the American "infidels." Two weeks later, the Taliban seized two local police officers accused of collaborating with the government. Within two hours, they were publicly tried, sentenced and beheaded. It took more than 48 hours to gather enough men to retrieve the bodies. It was a sobering rebuke to local leaders who had decided to put their faith in the state. "The Taliban says it is heaven, and so does the government," says Mir Hamza, one of Panjwai's tribal elders. "But I think they are both hell." And until Karzai—and his U.S. allies—delivers peace and security, Afghans like Hamza can expect to receive more messages in the night. —With reporting by Muhib Habibi/Kandahar

For more of TIME's coverage of the situation in Afghanistan, go to time.com



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Jersey's dowdy seaside gambling mecca is making a play for shops and fine dining. Sound familiar?

By BARBARA KIVIAT ATLANTIC CITY

LIKE MANY BEFORE HIM, SHELDON Gordon came to Atlantic City, N.J., confident that he would win big. Standing on a glass walkway between his new beachfront shopping mall and Caesars casino, he surveys a boardwalk full of people on a humid June afternoon and says, "There's no mall in America that has this amount of traffic on a Monday." If he were playing poker, Gordon's face would be a dead giveaway: he is obviously quite happy with his hand. At the end of the walkway is the Pier, a \$210 million green glass complex holding 90 shops, 10 restaurants, two nightclubs, a wedding chapel and a three-story, \$8 million water-and-light show. "This is going to dramatically change Atlantic City," Gordon says.

It's about time. Real estate developers and casino companies are plowing billions of dollars into low-rent Atlantic City—known for day-tripping seniors, nickel slots and giveaway buffets—in an attempt to reinvent the resort town as a Las Vegas-style destination packed with shows, shops and celebrity chefs. The folks in Jersey see no reason why Vegas

should have a lock on garish spectacle and conspicuous spending.

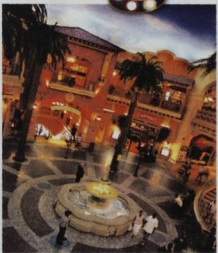
Last week the first stores in the Pier opened, as did a \$200 million expansion of the Borgata casino hotel that includes restaurants by star chefs Wolfgang Puck, Bobby Flay and Michael Mina. "People want to do more than gamble," says Pam Popielarski, president of the Tropicana casino hotel, which opened its complex of stores, restaurants and IMAX movie theater, dubbed the Quarter, in late 2004. "They want entertainment."

It wasn't until the 1990s that Las Vegas figured out that people couldn't gamble 24 hours a day and that despite the house's best efforts, they still had disposable income to spend outside the gaming halls. Gordon was there when blackjack met Louis Vuitton and Cirque du Soleil. His Forum Shops at Caesars Palace was a catalyst for transforming Sin City into Shop City; today those stores are among the top grossing in the country on a dollars-per-sq.-ft. basis.

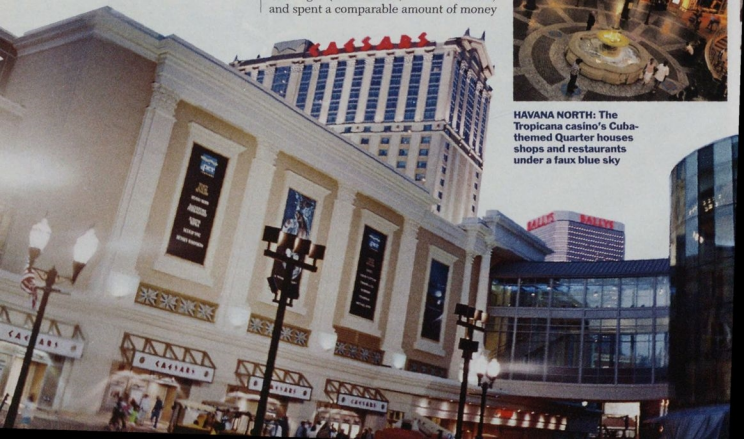
Atlantic City toyed with a similar move for years but couldn't give up its profitable day-tripper business model. Yet the opportunity was evident. Last year tourists made about as many visits to Atlantic City as to Las Vegas (34.9 million, vs. 38.6 million) and spent a comparable amount of money

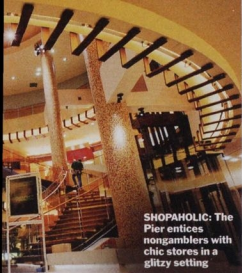


Vegas



HAVANA NORTH: The Tropicana casino's Cuba-themed Quarter houses shops and restaurants under a faux blue sky





SHOPAHOLIC: The Pier entices nongamblers with chic stores in a glitzy setting

East!



FANCY EATS: Celebrity chef Flay, holding the pot, cooks in his surf-and-turf-themed eatery

gambling—\$5 billion at Atlantic City's 12 casinos, vs. \$6 billion at the 42 casinos on Vegas' Strip. But the Strip's casinos brought in an additional \$6.9 billion from nongambling sources, while Atlantic City's drew just \$1.3 billion. All in, tourists dropped \$36.7 billion in Vegas; Atlantic City's take was one-fifth of that. Billions, it seemed, were being left on the table.

A mix of tax breaks for nongambling development, the competitive threat of slots in neighboring states and the 2003 opening of the first new casino in 13 years finally kick-started the city. Borgata, with its scantily clad cocktail waitresses and \$150 dinners, raised the ante for the industry. "It's kind of like when Steve Wynn opened the Mirage," says chef Flay, referring to Vegas' first megacasino, which opened in 1989. After Wynn made a volcano, everyone built over the top.

The year after Borgata opened, the Cordish Co., a mall developer based in Baltimore, Md., opened the Walk, a string of outlet stores; the Tropicana's Quarter also got going. House of Blues started bringing in hip acts to the Showboat casino, and Atlantic City's nightlife began to surge as rap star Jay-Z and others opened clubs. A slew of room expansions was announced, filling a major need in Atlantic City, which with only 18,000 rooms (compared with 133,000 in Las Vegas) can't accommodate big conventions. At the same time, a real estate boom in once dumpy shore towns from Long Branch to Asbury Park was spreading south. The Atlantic City development angered some homeowners and small businesses whose property stood in the way. But in a town where more than half the city budget comes from property taxes on casinos, things have a way of progressing.

And progress they have. At the Tropicana, nongaming revenue, including from hotel rooms, jumped 55% in the first year after the Quarter opened. At the same time, gambling revenue increased 21%. Not surprisingly, the longer people stayed, the more they played.

Success like that is spurring growth. In March Morgan Stanley said it would buy boardwalk-adjacent property and look for a partner to build a casino. Bally's and Caesars are about to announce expansion plans. Trump Entertainment Resorts, recently out of bankruptcy, is seeing salvation in building more rooms and converting its pier into a retail-and-entertainment complex. And MGM Mirage, which owns land next door to the Borgata, is advancing its timetable for building a massive complex of rooms, condos and retail. "It's no longer a question of if," MGM Mirage CEO Terry Lanni said recently. "It's a question of when."

It all sounds very promising, but since gambling arrived in 1978, Atlantic City has been up and down more times than the roller coaster that once occupied the pier where Gordon built his mall. In the late 1990s, five casinos were on the drawing board. Only one got built.

This time around, things are different, says Gordon. "Atlantic City wasn't ready," he says as he eats lunch at Evo, a white-linen restaurant at Trump Plaza that, Gordon observes, is a marked improvement over the joints he used to frequent in the mid-'90s. "Right now, Atlantic City is the same as Las Vegas was 15 years ago," he says. "This is as close as I've come to a sure thing. It's no gamble at all." Which is why he's betting the house on it. ■



BEACH BUY: Investors say projects such as the Pier will spur tourism beyond the casinos' lure

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INSIDE BUSINESS



Lean **and** Mean

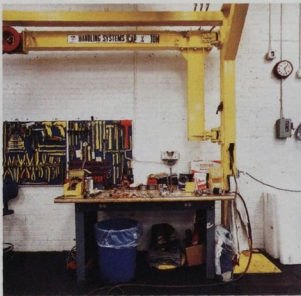
IN A DRAMATIC EXPERIMENT, THE ARMY IS REMAKING
ITSELF USING THEORIES PERFECTED BY BUSINESS.
CAN LEAN SIX SIGMA BUILD A BETTER, FASTER FORCE?

ILLUSTRATION FOR TIME BY GARY ALPHONSO

A1

BY SALLY B. DONNELLY
TEXARKANA

Colonel Douglas Evans sits in his modest office at Red River Army Depot, tracking the dozens of war-battered humvees from Iraq that arrive every week to be repaired. Spread across 36,000 acres in Texarkana, Texas, the World War II-era Red River facility is one of the Army's oldest and most important maintenance and storage bases. But Evans, a 24-year Army vet with combat tours in the Balkans and Iraq, says what soldiers need to understand these days is not only bombs and bullets but also diapers.



Organizing work spaces with the exact tools and parts needed has sped up production rates

Changing babies, Evans tells everyone at Red River, is the best model for thinking about how the facility can best help the Army. The faster you can fix a beat-up humvee, the sooner you can get it back into the fight. "You have to be organized," says Evans, who has an M.B.A. from Babson College. "You can't put the baby one place, the wipes another, the baby powder still another. If you fail to streamline the process, you might never get that clean diaper on. It's all about eliminating the 'waste' in the process." He smiles at his play on words.

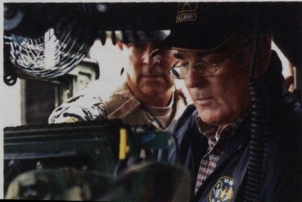
Evans is the tip of the spear on what may be the most ambitious business effort in the 231-year history of the U.S. Army: an attempt to adopt a management theory, Lean Six Sigma, across the entire service. More comprehensive than the attempt in the 1960s by Defense Secretary Robert McNamara to introduce the highly quantitative "system analysis" to the Pentagon, this is an enormous experiment: the Army has an annual budget of \$160 billion, with 1.1 million men and women in uniform, and it employs an additional 230,000 civilians. "This is the largest deployment of management science since the beginning of the discipline," says

Mike Kirby, who holds the newly created position of deputy under secretary of the Army for business transformation.

Why shake up the Army now, in the midst of a difficult war? The U.S. defense budget has increased some 40% since 2001, to almost half a trillion dollars, but military experts expect the funding to slow. Secretary of the Army Francis Harvey, who signed the order last March to implement the effort, says the need for it is obvious: "We need to free up resources so we can

apply them to the operating side of the Army. We need to equip our soldiers better and faster." Optimistic projections claim the Army could be saving billions of dollars each year in a decade.

▼ Secretary Harvey applied Lean Six Sigma to his office, cutting his staff 30% over two years



The two concepts of Lean and Six Sigma have been around the private sector for decades, and some parts of the Army have been using them since 2002. Lean is an outgrowth of the Toyota production system, developed in the 1930s, which focuses on increasing efficiency and reducing cycle time by eliminating waste. Six Sigma was first used on a wide scale by Motorola in the



▶▶ Red River Army Depot streamlined humvee repairs using ideas hatched in the civilian world

"I'VE TURNED AROUND 180 DEGREES—I CAN SEE WHAT AN EFFICIENT SHOP CAN DO."

—JOHN MOORE, A RED RIVER WORKER



MISTY KEASLER FOR TIME (4)

1980s as an approach to improving quality through statistical measurements and benchmarking, Evans explains. Six Sigma entered the U.S. business lexicon in a big way in the 1990s when CEO Jack Welch embraced it at General Electric.

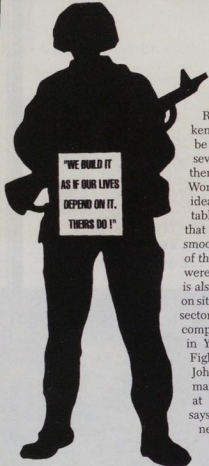
Today on the bookshelves of nearly every Army office in the Pentagon, alongside military-history tomes, sits a stack of business books that try to decipher what Lean Six Sigma means. Harvey, the spiritual godfather of the Army's transformation, tries to cut through the jargon. "We used to call it 'quality and productivity improvement' or 'total quality management,'" says Harvey, who worked for Westinghouse for nearly three decades. "The bottom line is, you take the extra steps out of the system, and improvement should be ongoing and forever."

While Lean and Six Sigma have traditionally been applied to manufacturing, the Army is using them in administrative offices as well. Last year for the first time, Harvey began requiring precise monthly figures on how many employees the service had. Then he gave commanders the responsibility of scrutinizing every new hire. Largely through attrition, the Army recorded a mere 2.6% increase in civilian employees in 2005. And Harvey did his part: his staff now has 30% fewer than when he took the job in 2004.

His officers are doing the same. General Ben Griffin, the head of Army Materiel Command—the service's central procurement organization for equipment—has dramatically cut the

number of meetings, reports and briefings. He installed seven senior officers around the world, in part to track progress on Lean Six Sigma, and gets Army-wide operational updates every week by videoconference rather than in-person meetings. Griffin says his command alone saved \$110 million last year, and military sources expect that to be doubled this year.

But it is on shop floors like Red River's where the changes are starting to show the most impressive results. Worn-out humvees used to be brought into a poorly lit, dirty and disorganized loading bay; now the vehicles move through a bright, gleaming shop floor—with American flags draped from the ceiling—in an assembly-line method, complete with a horn that blares every 23 min. to signal a move to a new station. Workers called waterspiders (named for the bugs that flit across the top of ponds) scurry back and forth to fetch tools and equipment for higher-skilled mechanics, who stay close to the humvees. Evans tracks the slightest delays. When an employee missed work for a family emergency last December and slowed the entire line, Evans realized that he had not cross-trained enough workers to fill in. Now he has at least one backup for every critical spot. Red River is also stocking more parts and requiring better quality from suppliers. The changes are paying off: the facility can turn out 32 mission-ready humvees a day, compared with three a week in 2004; the Lean process has lowered the cost of repair for one vehicle from \$89,000 to \$48,000.



▲ A cutout soldier posted on the shop floor at Red River reminds workers why their effort matters

And employees are part of the equation. At Red River, for example, broken vehicle hub gears used to be carted off to an area where several mechanics worked on them at three different tables. Workers came up with the idea of building one long table with an oval track on it that could slide the parts smoothly and quickly to each of the mechanics, whose tools were within easy reach. Evans is also taking some employees on site visits to efficient private-sector plants, like the British company BAE Systems' facility in York, Pa., where Bradley Fighting Vehicles are built. John Moore, a Bradley repair manager who has worked at Red River for 30 years, says he was skeptical of the new management regime at first. "I thought it was just going to put me out of a job," Moore says. "But I've turned around 180 degrees—I can see what an efficient shop can do."

Other Army facilities have seen similar results. Arkansas' Pine Bluff Arsenal reduced repair recycle time 90% and increased its production rate 50% on M-40 protective gas masks. Letterkenny Army Depot in Pennsylvania has saved \$11.9 million in the cost of building the Patriot air-defense missile system.

In many cases, the Army is turning to the private sector for help. The service lets 200,000 contracts each year, and some companies, like Honeywell, Northrop Grumman and BAE Systems, work hand in hand with Army staff on the factory floor. At Red River, for example, BAE spent thousands of dollars for new equipment and physical improvements to the plant. The company has also posted an on-site representative at Red River to oversee repair work on transmissions for BAE's Bradley. Working together, the BAE-Red River team increased output from 1.5 to 4 units per shift. In many Army facilities, the physical work, or "touch labor," is done by military staff, "but the crucial technical support is private industry," says Griffin of the Army Matériel Command. There are more than 300 such partnerships throughout the Army, and Griffin says they accounted for \$225 million in cost savings last year alone.

But two large questions loom over the Army's efforts: Is Lean Six Sigma just a management fad? And can a system designed to maximize profits and market share work in an enterprise whose goal is national security? Says an analyst who studies government procurement: "How is the Army going to judge

success? Cutting people or saving money is useful, but the challenge will be making sure all the changes are not only relevant to the soldier in the field but that there aren't negative impacts for war fighting." Some outside experts have also raised doubts about the Army's ability to systematically track processes in minute detail as Six Sigma requires.

Even advocates of the Army effort recognize the challenge. Employees at all levels must adopt a new work ethic, learn new systems and often work harder, with no immediate rewards. At Red River, Evans asked his 300 supervisors to volunteer for intensive Lean Six Sigma training but felt that not enough embraced it, so last month he required attendance. "Ninety-nine percent of my folks are onboard, but a few have said they will retire rather than adopt the concept of Lean Six Sigma," Evans says.

Of course, what works in a humvee repair shop may not translate to an air-conditioned cubicle. "While cost savings are easier to achieve and see in a production facility, how do we measure success in the legal department?" asks Ron Davis, a civilian executive at the Army Matériel Command. "We can't use 'cases lost.' But we could look at speeding up how long it takes to produce a paper. Or how we might be able to get a recruit into the system faster."


"WE NEED TO EQUIP OUR SOLDIERS BETTER AND FASTER."

—FRANCIS HARVEY, SECRETARY OF THE ARMY



For Evans, the Army's efforts are much more than a business-school exercise. "This is not only an economic transformation but a huge cultural change," he says. In the corner of every office at Red River, and on all the shop floors, stands a black cutout figure of a soldier with a helmet and rifle at the ready as a constant reminder of who the customer is and that the smallest errors can have the most serious consequences on the battlefield. A sign affixed to the front of the silhouette soldier says, WE BUILD IT AS IF OUR LIVES DEPEND ON IT. THEIRS DO!

▲ Army staff use a University of North Carolina classroom for training in management theory

A large group of people, some in white lab coats and others in business attire, are standing and sitting in a modern car manufacturing plant. In the foreground, a man in a white lab coat and glasses sits at a table, looking towards the camera. Next to him, a woman in a pink blazer sits at the same table. In the background, several cars are visible on the assembly line, and other people are standing around, some in white lab coats and others in business attire. The scene is brightly lit with industrial lighting.

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Tesco is enjoying record profits, but its growth will soon be put to the test as the British grocer tries to crack the U.S. market

Testing Tesco's Reach

WITH A RISKY DIVE INTO THE TOUGH U.S. MARKET, THE TOP BRITISH GROCER HOPES TO REVERSE THE EUROPEAN CURSE

■ BY ADAM SMITH LONDON ■

For years, European supermarkets have tried to crack the code of the American grocery industry. The lure—a juicy \$600 billion market—is exceeded only by its peril—no other market is as cutthroat or has devoured so many players so relentlessly. Some, like J Sainsbury, bailed out after years of fruitless effort; others, like the French hypermarket chain Carrefour, lasted a nanosecond. Ahold, a Dutch company that

owns the chain Stop & Shop, was bruised by an accounting scandal. Delhaize, the Belgian owner of Food Lion, holds on grimly as Wal-Mart makes chopped meat of the industry's profit margins.

So why would Tesco, Britain's biggest grocer, want to wade in among the carnivores? The answer can be found on a Friday evening in a trendy London neighborhood called Spitalfields, where the

Tesco Express store's young shoppers, filing in from nearby offices, are grabbing a few items before heading home. "I'm lazy," admits Adelaide Turnbull, 23, darting in for a bottle of wine. Larger-format supermarkets might offer lower prices, but yards from her home, this format is convenient, she says. "It works."

Tesco, the only supermarket that outsells Wal-Mart's British arm, hopes "it"

works well enough to export. Earlier this year, the company announced plans to open convenience stores based on the Tesco Express format on the West Coast of the U.S. in 2007. Tesco will initially commit \$460 million a year to the project, in the hope of finally getting its piece of the richest grocery market in the world.

Tesco could bring with it, along with the lessons of so many failed competitors, a broad appeal to match the choice-saturated American consumer. In the hands of canny CEO Terry Leahy, known for his no-frills style ("The only personality I believe in is Tesco," he once said), Tesco has launched in-house lines of food, ranging from economy pasta to hand-stretched Tuscan pizzas, with something to appeal to the frugal and the foodie. Leahy perfected the art of pulling in customers with Tesco's low-cost reputation and then selling them high-margin non-food items like TVs and home furnishings. And he has successfully developed both mammoth one-stop stores and more modest convenience shops. The strategy has left rivals playing catch-up: Tesco

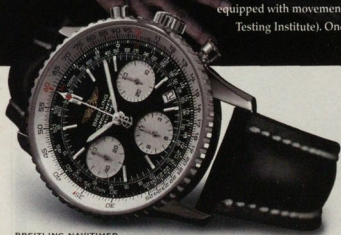
Photographed by Patrick von Ah at the Reno Air Races, Reno, Nevada

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◀ Mason will lead Tesco's push into the U.S., where many rival European grocery chains have failed

West Coast, "there isn't a dominant, large regional player," says Jeff Lendar, spokesman for

the U.S. National Association of Convenience Stores. More than three-quarters of California's convenience stores are one-store operations. Tesco's \$460 million initial investment, by comparison, is hardly betting the ranch (it represents about 10% of the company's annual capital expenditure), but it should buy more than 100 sites. Starting on the West Coast also allows Tesco to avoid taking on Wal-Mart in its heartland—there are more Wal-Mart stores in Texas than in all of California, Oregon and Washington combined.

Tesco won't say much about the new outlets—it declines comment on reports that it will open stores branded Fresh & Easy in Phoenix, Ariz., and Los Angeles. But it concedes that it built a mock store, reportedly in Santa Monica, Calif., and invited locals in for feedback. Analysts expect that Tesco will offer fresh produce in a quick-service format—a far cry from the grab-and-go foods in the typical convenience store. According to Neil Saunders of Verdict Research: "There is scope for a new player to carve out a niche in this market and take advantage of the weaker convenience operators."

More important, the strategy gets Tesco into the grocery market through the back door without the risk of launching a full-out, big-box supermarket assault on Wal-Mart. The British chain hasn't ruled out other formats in the future, but by building its own new concept rather than buying a U.S. chain, Tesco avoids having to shoulder the problems of an existing U.S. grocer. Of course, if it fails, it will have plenty of company. ■

"THERE IS SCOPE FOR A NEW PLAYER TO CARVE OUT A NICHE IN THIS MARKET." —NEIL SAUNDERS OF VERDICT RESEARCH

boasts a 31% slice of the British grocery market, according to research firm TNS Worldpanel. Running a distant second, with 16%, is ASDA, owned by Wal-Mart.

While this will be its first trip to the U.S., Tesco travels pretty well. Since the mid-'90s, it has opened more than 800 overseas stores, almost all in Central Europe and Asia, and they now account for more than a fifth of Tesco's total sales. International sales soared 23% in the past fiscal year, more than twice the rate of sales growth in Britain, lifting Tesco's profits 17%, to \$4 billion.

Still, none of that guarantees success in the U.S. Marks & Spencer and J Sainsbury, both profitable retailers on their native turf in Britain, have limped home in recent years after failing to make good on their American ambitions. But Tesco is pursuing a carefully thought-out plan of attack, which will be executed by Tim Mason, Tesco's marketing director since 1995 and a leading figure in its bull run. Mason was the driving force behind Tesco's hugely successful Clubcard, Britain's first modern supermarket-loyalty card.

Tesco's Competition

	STORES	2006 SALES in billions
Wal-Mart Supercenters	1,929	\$155.5*
The Kroger Co.	3,302	\$57.2
Albertsons	2,476	\$41.3
Safeway	1,801	\$38.5
Costco	412	\$31.8

Source: Directory of Supermarket, Grocery & Convenience Store Chains 2006

*Grocery revenue only

according to Britain's Verdict Research, but the U.S. convenience sector is booming. Industry profits leaped 17% last year, to \$5.84 billion; in-store revenues, even after stripping out gasoline sales, climbed 10%.

And Tesco is trying to establish the brand by targeting the West Coast first. While big regional players, like Pennsylvania-based Wawa and Sheetz, attract convenience shoppers along the East Coast, on the

► Tesco stores in Britain are known for offering a fast fresh-food alternative to big supermarkets



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Meet the McDentist

BIG IN EUROPE, FRANCHISE DENTISTRY HAS HIT U.S. SHORES. IS THIS THE FUTURE?

BY BERNARD STAMLER

Americans buy everything from burgers to coffee to karate lessons at franchises. They're convenient, predictable and often cheap. So why not try franchising a service most of us avoid like a trip to the dentist? Actually, it is a trip to the dentist. Meet Vital Dent, purveyors of franchise dentistry.

Standing convention on its head—usually U.S. firms are the ones franchising their businesses in Europe—Vital Dent, based in Las Rozas de Madrid, Spain, launched its first U.S. location in New York City in December 2004. (Privately held Vital Dent operates some 250 offices in Spain, Portugal and Italy, most of them franchises.) Since then, the company has opened nine more dental offices there, all with an identical high-gloss, minimalist look, and seven more are under construction in Florida and Massachusetts. In the U.S., Vital Dent plans to draw traffic by offering new patients free cleaning, X rays and dental exams. Then it hopes they will return for higher-margin procedures such as dental implants and orthodontics. The stores have longer hours than traditional dentists' offices and are open even on weekends. They also offer patients financing and payment plans.

Vital Dent's founder, Ernesto Colman Mena, believes he will get people in the door by emphasizing convenience, reasonable prices and new technology, including the latest in dental implants. "That's what works in Spain," Colman says through a translator. In 2005 Vital Dent was second in Spain only to Burger King in attracting franchise investment, according to Franchisa, an industry consulting firm. And he hopes a similar strategy will appeal to Americans looking for an alternative

to the old-fashioned neighborhood dentist. "The United States market offers a great opportunity," says Colman.

There is plenty of room for a new concept in U.S. dental care: 67% of dental practices in the U.S. are still run as traditional solo practices, according to Roger Levin, an industry management consultant in Owings Mills, Md. But Vital Dent will have to overcome more than just convention to find its way in the U.S. The new implant procedures Colman touts are not exclusive to the company. Vital Dent's prices, although below those of high-end dentists, are not much lower than the typical rates in most major cities (and like many traditional dentists, Vital Dent doesn't participate directly in insurance plans). According to a 2005 year-end survey published in the journal *Dental Economics*, the median price of a surface filling

THERE IS ROOM FOR A NEW CONCEPT, SINCE 67% OF DENTAL PRACTICES IN THE U.S. ARE STILL RUN SOLO



▲ At Vital Dent's 10 high-tech offices (like this one in New York City), new patients get free X rays

was \$112; Vital Dent charges about \$100.

The idea of dental franchises is not entirely new to the U.S. Several chains opened in the 1980s only to founder later, Levin says. They failed because of patient loyalty to the traditional private-office model—and Vital Dent faces its own obstacles. For example, any franchisee who is not a licensed dentist must contract with dentists or dental groups to provide services, a huge cost on top of the franchise fees paid to Vital Dent, which



alone can run to \$600,000. That's a lot to ask in an industry in which a new practice can easily be established for far less than \$500,000, according to Tyson Steele, a dental marketing consultant in Eugene, Ore. "It's a tough business model," Steele says.

So far, all the U.S. franchisees are Europeans who also own franchises back home, but Colman hopes to expand his U.S. franchise base to 40 offices by the end of 2006. He's betting that Americans' endless appetite for convenience will have them lining up for dentistry that's quick and easy. Painless? He's working on it.

▲ CEO Colman hopes convenience and affordable fees will appeal to middle-class Americans



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A Place for the Power Nap

AS SLEEP DEFICITS TAKE A TOLL ON PRODUCTIVITY, FIRMS WAKE UP AND OFFER A LITTLE SHUT-EYE ON THE JOB

■ BY FRANCINE RUSSO ■

With 510 franchises in the U.S. and abroad, Le Gourmet Gift Basket in Castle Rock, Colo., is the model of an always-on global business. Employees arrive early—5 a.m. isn't unusual—to deal with clients in other time zones. They have all honed their techniques for avoiding jet lag and fatigue as they travel from the Colorado office to other U.S. locations, like

Hawaii, or to Australia, New Zealand and Malaysia to meet with vendors and train new franchisees who sell the company's high-end gift baskets. But that isn't enough for CEO Cynthia McKay. She believes that good sleep means good business, and she has made it part of her com-

pany's workplace culture. In one of two designated sleep areas in Le Gourmet's offices, employees can nap for 15 or 30 minutes on a foldout couch or single cot. If the alarm clock doesn't rouse them, McKay will, to make sure they're getting the short naps she thinks will do the most for pro-

ductivity. "I consider my staff irreplaceable," she says, "and I want to keep them off the road if they are not at their best."

McKay is part of a small but growing movement in corporate America to address the consequences of a nation of sleep-deprived workers. Longer commutes, midnight e-mails and a global economy that requires work over many time zones have made a solid eight hours of sleep as rare as a three-martini lunch. According to the National Sleep Foundation, sleep deprivation costs U.S. business more than \$100 billion a year in lost productivity and damage to workers' health and safety. An estimated 80,000 drivers a day, for example, doze off while behind the wheel. And supporting those exhausted legions creates even more of them. "People expect to pull in at Starbucks at 5 a.m. to get coffee," says Dr. Charles Czeisler of Harvard's Brigham & Women's

Workers in midtown Manhattan get some rest in MetroNaps' pods. Soft vibrations will wake them





*2005 Center for Automotive Research study. Includes direct, dealer and supplier employees, and jobs created through their spending.

**Toyota vehicles and components are built using many U.S. sourced parts. ©2006



Toyota U.S. Operations
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Jobs 386,000*
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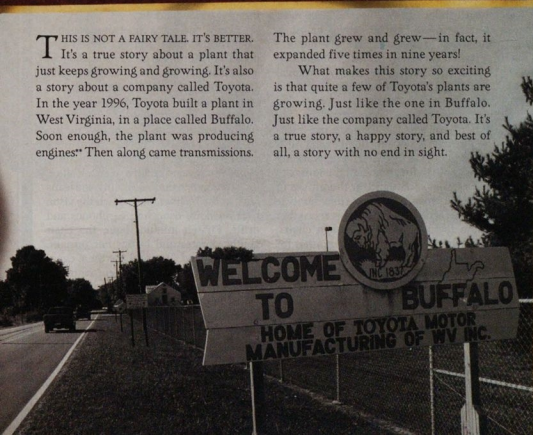
Manufacturing
Facilities

The Story of the Plant that Never Stopped Growing

THIS IS NOT A FAIRY TALE. IT'S BETTER. It's a true story about a plant that just keeps growing and growing. It's also a story about a company called Toyota. In the year 1996, Toyota built a plant in West Virginia, in a place called Buffalo. Soon enough, the plant was producing engines.* Then along came transmissions.

The plant grew and grew—in fact, it expanded five times in nine years!

What makes this story so exciting is that quite a few of Toyota's plants are growing. Just like the one in Buffalo. Just like the company called Toyota. It's a true story, a happy story, and best of all, a story with no end in sight.



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◀ CEO McKay set up sleep areas for her employees, but she limits their napping to 30-minute breaks

Hospital. "But the one who prepares it is setting up at 4 a.m."

Clearly, the problem demands a solution, but business is just starting to grapple with it. Sleep experts say that more and more employers, aware of the hits they take to health, safety and productivity because of sleep deficits, are taking action. ComPsych, the nation's largest provider of employee-assistance programs, reports that requests for its stress-reduction and sleep-improvement training series, which includes stretching, breathing exercises and developing restful presleep routines, jumped 89% from 2004 to 2005. Some of its clients offer programs that include lunch-hour yoga and Tai Chi to aid relaxation and improve sleep patterns. "After nutrition and exercise," says ComPsych CEO Richard Chaietz, "we've seen a heightened focus on sleep."

Sleep experts say screening for disorders like sleep apnea is also on the rise. As much as 10% of the population suffers from the problem, and most people don't even know they have it, says Dr. Gary Richardson of the Henry Ford Medical Center. Screening for a sleep disorder takes little more than a 15- to 20-minute questionnaire, and increasingly businesses understand that treating such problems improves workers' health and reduces health-care costs.

Napping has had the hardest time gaining traction, despite the scientific evidence in its favor. A study by NASA found, for example, that a 26-minute nap increased pilots' performance 34%. "What other management strategy will improve

"WHAT OTHER MANAGEMENT STRATEGY IMPROVES PERFORMANCE 34% IN 26 MINUTES?"

—MARK ROSEKIND OF ALERTNESS SOLUTIONS

people's performance 34% in 26 minutes?" asks Mark Rosekind, president of Alertness Solutions, a fatigue-management consultancy, and the former NASA scientist who conducted the research. Yet most businesses still reject public napping. According to a survey by William Anthony, a Boston University professor of rehabilitation counseling who created National Napping Day, 70% of respondents who sleep at work do so secretly, often curled up in the backseat of their car at lunch.

Where nap facilities are provided, sleep experts say, most employers offer them mainly as a perk to retain workers; the productivity and health benefits are often an afterthought. In the offices of Kaye/Bassman, a corporate headhunting firm in Dallas, a spiffy new relaxation room features \$4,500 massage chairs, headphones and a four-way dimmer for the lights. CEO Jeff Kaye says he installed the room primarily as a fun reward for his employees, but he also sees the benefits for productivity. "After a stressful negotiation, people need to unplug," he says.

MetroNaps, a company that pioneered the concept of selling naps in sleep environments, is seeing the change in corporate attitudes firsthand. The New York City-

ual pods that companies could use on-site. To meet the demand, MetroNaps redesigned the pods to fit through doorways and will take orders from July for the new office models.

Chowdhury's first client, the ad agency Arc Worldwide in London, leased two pods from MetroNaps after using them in a commercial. "We researched naps, and I think they really do contribute to better idea generation," says Andrew Card, Arc's president. Hannah Roberts, a communications manager at Arc, heads for the sleep pods behind the reception desk whenever she gets hit by a bout of afternoon lethargy and creative block. If she is lucky enough to find one empty, she leans back in the recliner, pulls down the visor, puts on noise-canceling earphones and drifts. Fifteen minutes later, the chair gently vibrates and brings her upright, block removed. "I would use them every day, but I have to share them with 450 other people," she says.

Is napping the new coffee break? Sleep experts say that day is getting closer for farsighted businesses. "I'm seeing a surge in bosses' saying, 'I want to bring this into my business,'" says Sara Mednick, a sleep researcher at the Salk Institute. "Usually the boss is a napper." ■



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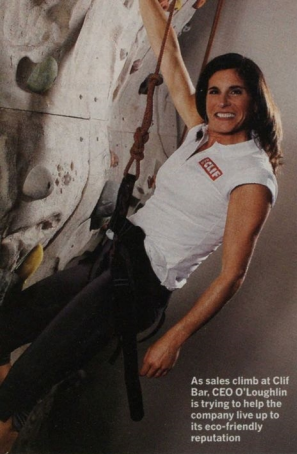
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As sales climb at Clif Bar, CEO O'Loughlin is trying to help the company live up to its eco-friendly reputation

True Green



AT CLIF BAR, SAVING THE EARTH BEGINS WITH A HARD LOOK AT ITS OWN BUSINESS

Clif Bar, the energy-bar company founded by a cycling enthusiast, has little problem sustaining growth. Since 2003, sales have surged 53%, to \$150 million. But CEO Sheryl O'Loughlin has another sustainability issue—how to live up to Clif Bar's squeaky-green image? She tells *TIME*'s **AMANDA BOWER** about CO₂ emissions, recycling bins and purses made from trash.

How did you adjust to Clif Bar after working at General Foods and Quaker?

When I first got here, I was a disciplinarian. I put processes in place, thought there was always a right versus wrong. I realized over about a six-month period of time that I was getting on [owner and then CEO Gary Erickson's] nerves. He was an entrepreneur, trying new things. Every rule I set up, he broke it. We sat down and had a beer and realized that what each other had, we wanted a little of. I wanted to be able to release creative energy. He knew he needed processes in place.

Clif was the first major energy bar to be certified organic. Now that everyone is going organic, are there supply problems? It's a huge issue. We have to search the world for some ingredients. I said to Kevin Cleary, the executive vice president of sales and operations, "We have to have organic almonds. We made a promise to consumers we would have organic almonds." He said, "You don't understand, we can't get them. They're not available anymore." I was stunned. We're having to rethink the whole way we run our business to figure out how to deal with this shortness of supply.

What about the environmental cost of transporting organic ingredients all over the world? Is that sustainable? We did an interesting study of two suppli-

ers of brown rice syrup. One was a U.S. supplier; one was international. Instead of asking the question about food miles [traveled], we asked how much CO₂ was being emitted by the travel. We found that having the boat come over here used less CO₂ than having the truck come across the U.S. We're now conducting what we're calling an eco-assessment, looking at our entire supply chain, from the field where the ingredient is planted to our packaging.

What is the least sustainable practice you know about so far at Clif Bar?

The primary wrapper on our package. It is not recyclable; it is not compostable. We have been working on trying to find an answer to it for the past five years. We can't find one. [But] the person who runs our Luna brand found this company that makes purses out of wrappers. They can make backpacks, bracelets. Isn't that cool? We're trying to make the package recyclable or compostable, but we also asked, What can we do in the meantime?

You have an in-house volunteer Eco Posse. Is that as geeky as it sounds?

[Laughs] In 2000, Gary hired an ecologist, and Eco Posse was her idea—a group of people to teach people what it means to make a difference. Simple things, like putting in more recycling bins. One day she came into the office and said, "Why do we

have this shrink wrap on the caddies that hold our bars?" And we had absolutely no idea. It was just the way we'd been doing things. So we took the plastic off. We saved 90,000 lbs. of plastic and \$450,000 a year.


So sustainability makes business sense.

But if it's not through the fabric of your core as a company, you might make trade-offs. For example, organic ingredients cost us more money. We didn't raise our price. We wanted more consumers to have access to organic ingredients. We sucked it up, and our sales ended up taking off. Clif Bar's revenue was flat for about four years. We put organic ingredients in there, and the sales went up 35%. But we didn't know; we took a leap of faith. In fact, we did a focus group five years ago—said to our consumers, "Would you buy more Clif Bars if they had organic ingredients?" The answer was no.

You recently went on a sabbatical. What did you do?

We traveled with our two kids and went all over South America. My God, hiking to altitude, we would put the kids in the backpacks, put them on and almost pass out.

Did you eat Clif Bars while you were hiking? Of course. Although two weeks into it they were all gone. We brought a baby sitter with us, and I think she was eating them for dessert. ■



*the middle of the
crosswalk*

*in the freight
elevator*

*on the
front lawn*

*during
intermission*

*still sneaks a kiss
when the kids
aren't looking*



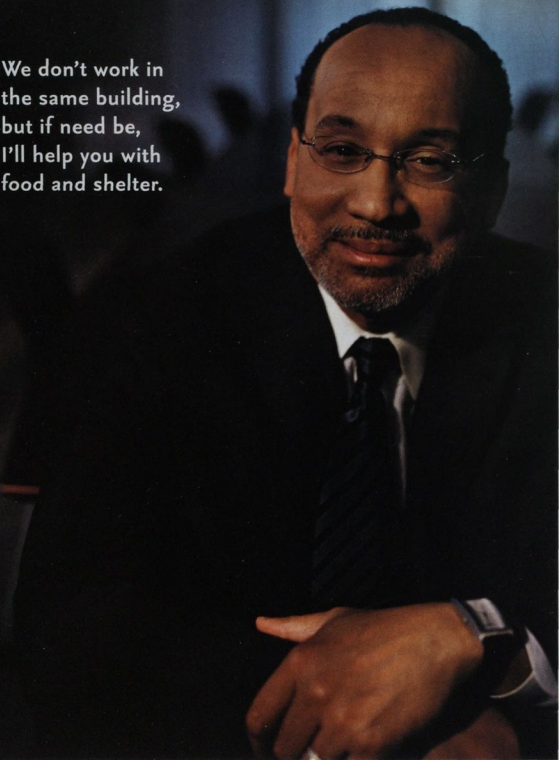
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The megaslides at Great Wolf's nine resorts start at the top of a staircase four stories high



Getting Splash Happy

HOW WATERSLIDES, WAVE MACHINES AND TIPPING BUCKETS HAVE HELPED RECHARGE THE HOTEL TRADE

BY MARYANNE MURRAY BUECHNER SCOTRUM

It takes more than a body slide to impress some jaded vacationers. One swoosh down Totem Tower at the Great Wolf Lodge in Williamsburg, Va., and Andrew Lappas, 5, seemed bored. "I thought, Uh-oh, one run and we're done?" his father, Chris Lappas, 40, recalls with a laugh. Before long they discovered the indoor water park's longer, steeper tunnel slides—

they start atop a four-story staircase and snake in and out of the cavernous hall into a plunge pool below—and Andrew was hooked. "We proceeded to go down about 25 more times," Lappas says. "By the end of the day, the kid was toast."

A happily worn-out 5-year-old is a highly desirable commodity in leisure travel these days, as indoor-water-park hotels, once unique to Wisconsin as an escape from the bone-chilling winters, spring up by the dozens across the U.S.

"There's a real thirst for a family activity that's close to home, that's more than a trip to the movie theater," says Price-WaterhouseCoopers analyst Scott Berman. By adding indoor water parks to existing hotels or building new "destination" water-park resorts, hotel owners are attracting those families and in the process recharging business.

While smaller than their open-air counterparts, indoor water parks are still massive: 35,000 sq. ft. or larger, with elab-

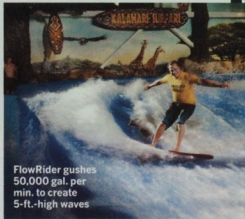


Great Wolf's tipping buckets dump 1,000 gallons of water every five minutes

A lazy river winds through the Kalahari water-park resort in the Wisconsin Dells



LIFESTYLE



FlowRider gushes 50,000 gal. per min. to create 5-ft.-high waves

orate networks of raft rides and body slides, plus fountains, wave pools and shallow areas for toddlers. Giant skylights bathe the parks in natural light by day; filtering systems constantly clean the water and pump in fresh air from outside. At Great Wolf, the indoor air temperature and the water are kept at a balmy 84°F, says CEO John Emery.

Those mechanics mean the facilities cost as much as \$400 per sq. ft. to build—more than double the cost of an indoor pool. But a building boom is in full swing. In 2000 there were 24 indoor-water-park hotels and resorts in the U.S., all in the Midwest; by year's end there will be more than 100, with projects under way in Texas, Arizona, Kentucky and California. Holiday Inn is converting several of its aging "Holidome" franchises into indoor-water-park hotels, while even some Super 8 hotels are installing small water parks.

What's the appeal? By bringing in families on the weekends, some hotels have increased their occupancy rates as much as 10% a year, about 10 times the industry average, reports consultant David Sangree. Room revenue also jumps, because an indoor water park adds as much as \$100 to the nightly room rate. At Great Wolf, as at most of the parks, admission is exclusive to hotel guests, a selling point for some customers. "I'd always avoided outdoor water parks, because they're usually so dirty, and I worry about health issues," says Michelle Lappas, who came to Great Wolf in Virginia from Connecticut with her husband and son. "But I was comfortable. It was a nice crowd, and it was clean, and with lifeguards posted everywhere, I felt the kids were safe."

And as kids clamor for "just one more

ride" before dinner, hotels are turning waiting parents into a new stream of revenue for the lobby cafés serving Starbucks coffee and nearby Aveda spas. At the busiest Great Wolf Lodge, in Scotrun, Penn., in the Pocono Mountains, guests sport wristbands with embedded radio-frequency chips that unlock their rooms and buy beer at the snack bar. Lappas called the \$700 bill for the family's two-day stay "well worth it."

Even with year-round climate control,

"THERE'S A REAL THIRST FOR A FAMILY ACTIVITY THAT'S CLOSE TO HOME."

—SCOTT BERMAN, PRICEWATERHOUSECOOPERS

attendance at the indoor water parks spikes during school vacations, so smart operators are courting business travelers on weekdays, says water-park-industry consultant Bill Haralson. "Some hotels make the mistake of assuming that if you add a water park, your worries are over," he says. The Kalahari Resort in the Wisconsin Dells, for example, runs a 125,000-sq.-ft. indoor water park (the U.S.'s largest) and almost as much meeting and convention space. The Reno Hilton will reopen in 2007, as the Grand Sierra Resort, with a similar dual strategy.

Then again, perhaps the parks will find a way to unleash the 5-year-old in every road warrior. At the mouth of a slide called Coyote Cannon, a middle-aged father of two climbs onto an inner tube and disappears with a smile and a quip: "You check your dignity at the door." ■



Six Flags opened its first indoor water park in upstate New York in February

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The Time to Plan Is Now

NEW TOOLS AND A LITTLE FORESIGHT CAN SMOOTH A PATH TO RETIREMENT BETWEEN SCRIMPING AND SPLURGING

■ BY LAURENCE J. KOTLIKOFF ■

Let's face it—Uncle Sam is broke. The gap between the U.S. government's future expenses and tax receipts is \$63.3 trillion. No surprise. The nation has 77 million retiring baby boomers on track to collect well above \$30,000 a year—the average amount we're paying today's elderly—in Social Security, Medicare and Medicaid benefits. If you're planning for a cushy

retirement, forget it. Get ready for much higher taxes, lower benefits and inflation.

Why this glum scenario? To close our fiscal gap, we face a menu of pain: raise income taxes 70%, hike payroll taxes 109%, cut Social Security and Medicare a combined 41%, eliminate 79% of federal discretionary spending, or some combination. Waiting only makes the options worse and could lead to hyperinflation. Countries that can't cover their spending with taxes end up printing money to pay their bills. That leads to runaway prices, sky-high interest rates, a weakening currency and economic decline.

Given what's coming, we all need to do very careful financial planning. For starters, avoid those simplistic financial calculators on the Net. Relying on them can lead to huge financial mistakes.

TIAA-CREF, for example, asks just five questions in its online Simple Life-Insurance Needs Calculator. Fidelity's Retirement Quick Check saving calculator is equally primitive. Next, think twice about using financial planners. Their software isn't much bet-

ter. Most programs make you set your own future spending targets. Doing so correctly is terribly difficult given all the interconnected variables. And small targeting mistakes can lead to horrendous saving, insurance and investment advice.

There's no way (and no need) to do financial planning in your head. Economists are developing new consumption-smoothing software that does the targeting for you. (Full

disclosure: I've co-developed one such program, called ESPlanner.) The goal of the new software is to help you make the financial and life-cycle decisions that will generate your highest sustainable living standard. Targeting for a smooth spending path makes a lot more sense than scrimping now for a few years of luxury or living it up and then throwing yourself on the mercy of your kids and Social Security.

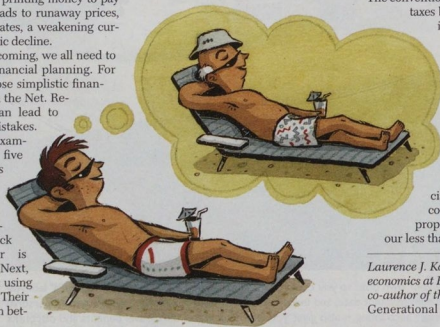
In addition to planning better, you can also make smarter investments. Given the U.S. fiscal mess, investing abroad is a good idea. Try to avoid inflation-sensitive investments, like long-term bonds, and other potential traps, including waiting to withdraw your 401(k) balances until after tax rates have risen. You may also want to purchase real estate, commodities and collectibles that should retain their purchasing power over time. Borrowing at what are still very low long-term interest rates and investing in U.S. inflation-protected bonds may also make sense.

Every financial decision ought to be taken with a wary eye toward the future. New college grads ought to think twice about taking a job offering low current but high future wages. Those future wages may not materialize and may be taxed to death. Middle-age and middle-class workers should consider contributing to Roth rather than conventional IRAs. The conventional IRA lowers your current

taxes but raises your future taxes, including taxes on your future Social Security benefits. New retirees should consider cashing out their 401(k)s early and delaying receipt of Social Security. That dramatically raises Social Security benefits and lowers the taxes on those benefits.

No approach to financial planning is perfect, but consumption smoothing, done properly, can prepare you for our less than rosy fiscal future. ■

Laurence J. Kotlikoff is a professor of economics at Boston University and co-author of the book *The Coming Generational Storm*



■ SMALL TARGETING MISTAKES CAN LEAD TO HORRENDOUS SAVING ADVICE ■



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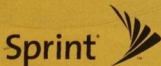
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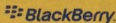
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**SUSPENDED****Ivan Basso, Italy**

Without Armstrong, he was the favorite. Now Basso must sit out this year's Tour due to alleged links to a drug ring

UNDER A CLOUD**Lance Armstrong, U.S.**

The seven-time Tour champ, retired and devoted to cancer research, is again fighting cheating charges

SUSPENDED**Jan Ullrich, Germany**

The '97 Tour champ and five-time runner-up looked to reclaim the yellow jersey. The drug probe took him out too

STARTING OVER With the top three finishers from 2005 out of the race, this year's Tour is wide open

said in an affidavit, "I would have recorded such a confession as a matter of form, as indeed would have my colleagues. None was recorded."

Besides Armstrong's legacy, Tour organizers are coping with a fresh drug scandal. A Spanish doping investigation resulted in three pre-race favorites—Italy's Ivan Basso, Germany's Jan Ullrich and Spain's Francisco Mancebo, who finished second, third and fourth, respectively, behind Armstrong in the 2005 Tour—being forced out of the race the day before its start. The French newspaper *L'Equipe* called it a "decapitation." Says Daniel Baal, former president of the French Cycling Federation: "The credibility of the Tour has been called into question."

It's certainly the most damaging crisis to hit the race since the 1998 "Tour de Shame," when the team sponsored by watchmaker Festina was ejected after officials discovered a veritable pharmacy in a team car.

The Spanish Civil Guard carried out Operation Puerto in late May, raiding several apartments in Madrid, where they found stashes of frozen blood, steroids, growth hormones and EPO, among other substances. Five people were arrested, including a doctor, Eufemiano Fuentes, who has links to many elite riders. The Spanish Cycling Federation handed over a report to Tour officials implicating the three high-profile barred riders in the doping ring. The report also named five riders from the Astaná-Würth team, forcing all nine of its riders off the Tour (a team needs six cyclists to start the race). So although he's not named in the probe, Astaná-Würth's lead rider, Alexander Vinokourov of Kazakhstan, is also out of the race; he finished fifth in last year's Tour. The Spanish Civil Guard told *TIME* that more races could be implicated.

That leaves the Tour de France field, already wide open in the wake of Armstrong's retirement, an even wilder mishmash. Asked shortly before the race began about his improving prospects, American Floyd Landis just sighs. "Jesus," says Landis, "I have to wait to know who's here—which is sad to say, because [the race] starts in about 24 hours." It could be the Tour's roughest ride yet. —*With reporting by Tala Skari/Paris and Enrique Zaldúa/San Sebastian*

On a Downhill Cycle

A doping scandal forces the Tour de France to wrestle with a champion's legacy and its own future

By SEAN GREGORY

THIS YEAR'S TOUR DE FRANCE, WHICH began on Saturday, is a prodigious test. Not just for the riders who climb, sprint and sweat their way along the three-week, 2,270-mile journey across the Alps and countryside. It's also a prodigious test for cycling's future. After seven straight victories, Lance Armstrong is no longer competing. Yet his legacy of success—coupled with fresh allegations of his wrongdoing—is casting a shadow over the start of this year's already chaotic race.

Critics, particularly in France, have long accused Armstrong, a cancer survivor, of needing drugs to win his titles. Adding fuel to that fire is recent testimony from an ex-teammate and his wife, first reported in the French newspaper *Le Monde*. Nearly a decade ago, three days after doctors removed two cancerous lesions from his brain, Armstrong relaxed in an Indiana hospital room with a group of close friends. It was there, says Betsy Andreu, then the fiancé of one of Armstrong's cycling teammates, that

the future cycling giant admitted to being juiced. According to Andreu's testimony from October 2005 in an arbitration case between Armstrong and SCA Promotions, a Dallas-based insurance firm that withheld a \$5 million bonus from him over doping allegations, a doctor came into the room and asked Armstrong, "Have you ever used any performance-enhancing drugs?" Armstrong's response, according to Andreu: "Yes." Andreu says Armstrong listed for the doctor the banned drugs he had taken: growth hormone, cortisone, EPO (erythropoietin, which boosts endurance by raising the blood's oxygen-carrying capacity), steroids and testosterone.

Armstrong has repeatedly denied using performance-enhancing drugs. And he has never failed a drug test. He called Andreu's allegation—which her husband, former Armstrong teammate Frankie Andreu, backed in a separate deposition—"absurd and untrue." (Betsy Andreu told *TIME* she stands by "every single, solitary word" of her testimony.) Armstrong ultimately won the arbitration, receiving another \$2.5 million on top of the \$5 million SCA owed him. Armstrong's oncologist, Dr. Craig Nichols,



THE SPANISH DOPING PROBE CREATED THE MOST DAMAGING CRISIS TO HIT THE RACE SINCE THE 1998 "TOUR DE SHAME"



The New Science of

SIBLINGS

Your parents raised you. Your spouse lives with you. But it's your brothers and sisters who really shaped you. Surprising research reveals how **By Jeffrey Kluger**

THERE ARE A LOT OF WAYS TO study a painting, and one of the best is to get to know the painter. The splash or splatter of color makes a lot more sense when you understand the rage or whimsy or heart behind it. The songwriter, similarly, can lay bare the song, the poet the poem, the builder the building.

So what explains the complex bit of artistry that is the human personality? We may not be born as *tabulae rasae*. Any parent can tell you that each child comes from the womb with an individual temperament that seems preloaded at the factory. But from the moment of birth, a lot of things set to work on that temperament—moderating it, challenging it, annealing it, wounding it. What we're left with after 10 or 20 or 50 years is quite different from what we started out with.

For a long time, researchers have tried to nail down just what shapes us—or what, at least, shapes us most. And over the years, they've had a lot of eureka moments. First

it was our parents, particularly our mothers. Then it was our genes. Next it was our peers, who show up last but hold great sway. And all those ideas were good ones—but only as far as they went.

The fact is once investigators had stripped all the data from those theories, they still came away with as many questions as answers. Somewhere, there was a sort of temperamental dark matter exerting an invisible gravitational pull of its own. More and more, scientists are concluding that this unexplained force is our siblings.

From the time they are born, our brothers and sisters are our collaborators and co-conspirators, our role models and cautionary tales. They are our scolds, protectors, goads, tormentors, playmates, counselors, sources of envy, objects of pride. They teach us how to resolve conflicts and how not to; how to conduct friendships and when to walk away from them. Sisters teach brothers about the mysteries of girls; brothers teach sisters about the puzzle of boys. Our spouses arrive comparatively late in our lives; our parents

PHOTOGRAPH OF CHILDREN BY PETER SEBASTIAN—GETTY



GETTING PAST FAVORITISM

Wilen Kromhout, left, 36, and sister Wynne Cheng, 31, change Wilen's baby. When they were young, Wilen fumed when family rules were bent for Wynne. That mattered less as they grew up. They now live minutes apart in Van Nuys, Calif., and paddle on a dragon-boat team together

eventually leave us. Our siblings may be the only people we'll ever know who truly qualify as partners for life. "Siblings," says family sociologist Katherine Conger of the University of California, Davis, "are with us for the whole journey."

Within the scientific community, siblings have not been wholly ignored, but research has been limited mostly to discussions of birth order. Older sibs were said to be strivers; younger ones rebels; middle kids the lost souls. The stereotypes were broad, if not entirely untrue, and there the discussion mostly ended.

But all that's changing. At research centers in the U.S., Canada, Europe and elsewhere, investigators are launching a wealth of new studies into the sibling dynamic, looking at ways brothers and sisters steer one another into—or away from—risky behavior; how they form a protective buffer against family upheaval; how they educate one another about the opposite sex; how all siblings compete for family recognition and come to terms—or blows—

over such impossibly charged issues as parental favoritism.

From that research, scientists are gaining intriguing insights into the people we become as adults. Does the manager who runs a congenial office call on the peacemaking skills learned in the family playroom? Does the student struggling with a professor who plays favorites summon up the coping skills acquired from dealing with a sister who was Daddy's girl? Do husbands and wives benefit from the intergender negotiations they waged when their most important partners were their sisters and brothers? All that is under investigation. "Siblings have just been off the radar screen until now," says Conger. But today serious work is revealing exactly how our brothers and sisters influence us.

■ Why childhood fights between siblings can be good

THE FIRST THING THAT STRIKES CONTEMPORARY researchers when they study siblings is the sheer quantity of time the kids spend in

one another's presence and the power this has to teach them social skills. By the time children are 11, they devote about 33% of their free time to their siblings—more time than they spend with friends, parents, teachers or even by themselves—according to a well-regarded Penn State University study published in 1996. Later research, published last year, found that even adolescents, who have usually begun going their own way, devote at least 10 hours a week to activities with their siblings—a lot when you consider that with school, sports, dates and sleep, there aren't a whole lot of free hours left. In Mexican-American homes, where broods are generally bigger, the figure tops 17 hours.

"In general," says psychologist Daniel Shaw of the University of Pittsburgh, "parents serve the same big-picture role as doctors on grand rounds. Siblings are like the nurses on the ward. They're there every day." All that proximity breeds an awful lot of intimacy—and an awful lot of friction.

Laurie Kramer, professor of applied



STEPPING INTO THE BREACH

Angel Lopez, center, 24, teaches brother Merlyn, 33, and sister Davianka, 20, a dance. When Davianka was 13, Merlyn took her and Angel into his Whitier, Calif., home after their single mother moved to Miami and they didn't want to live there. Today Davianka calls her brothers "role models."

family studies at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, has found that, on average, sibs between 3 and 7 years old engage in some kind of conflict 3.5 times an hour. Kids in the 2-to-4 age group top out at 6.3—or more than one clash every 10 minutes, according to a Canadian study. "Getting along with a sister or brother," Kramer says dryly, "can be a frustrating experience."

But as much as all the fighting can set parents' hair on end, there's a lot of learning going on too, specifically about how conflicts, once begun, can be settled. Shaw and his colleagues conducted a years-long study in which they visited the homes of 90 2-year-old children who had at least one sibling, observing the target kids' innate temperaments and their parents' discipline styles. The researchers returned when the children were 5 and observed them again, this time in a structured play session with one close-in-age sib. The pairs were shown three toys but given only one to play with. They were told they could move onto the next one only when both agreed it was time

to switch and further agreed which toy they wanted next.

That, as any parent knows, is a scenario trip-wired for fights—and that's what happened. The experimenters ranked the conflicts on a five-point scale, with one being a single cross word and five being a full-blown brawl. The next year, they went to the same children's schools to observe them at play and interview their teachers. Almost universally, the kids who practiced the best conflict-resolution skills at home carried those abilities into the classroom.

Certainly, there are other things that could account for what makes some kids battlers in school and others not. But the most powerful variables—parents and personality—were identified and their influence isolated during the course of the two-year-long observations. Socioeconomic status, an X factor that bedevils studies like this one, was controlled by selecting all the families from the same economic stratum. Distill those influences away and what is left is the interaction of the sibs. "Siblings

18%
of people polled say
their parents
favored one child
over another

have a socializing effect on one another," Shaw says. "When you tease out all the other variables, it's the play styles that make the difference. Unlike a relationship with friends, you're stuck with your sibs. You learn to negotiate things day to day."

It's that permanence, researchers believe, that makes siblings so valuable a rehearsal tool for later life. Adulthood, after all, is practically defined by peer relationships—the workplace, a marriage, the

BRIDGING DIFFERENCES

Joanna Smith, left, 26, is a dental-hygienist mom in Champaign, Ill., who never exercises. Sister Sarah Ross, 24, a single ad rep in Chicago, is a marathoner and spinning instructor. Still, says Sarah, "she knows me so intimately."



church building committee. As siblings, we may sulk and fume but by nighttime we still return to the same twin beds in the same shared room. Peace is made when one sib offers a toy or shares a thought or throws a pillow in a mock provocation that releases the lingering tension in a burst of roughhousing. Somewhere in there is the early training for the e-mail joke that breaks an office silence or the husband who signals that a fight is over by asking his wife what she thinks they should do about that fast-approaching vacation anyway. "Sibling relationships are where you learn all this," says developmental psychologist Susan McHale of Penn State University. "They are relationships between equals."

■ How not being Mom's favorite can have its advantages

MULTICHLD HOUSEHOLDS CAN BE NOTHING short of palace courts, with alliances, feuds, grudges and loyalties, all changing day to day. Perhaps the touchiest problem in most such families is favoritism.

Parents feel a lot of guilt over the often evident if rarely admitted preference they harbor for one child over another—the sensitive mom who goes gooey over her son the poet, the hard-knocks dad who adores his tough-as-nails daughter. If favorites exist, however, it may be not the parents' fault, but evolution's.

The family began as—and remains—a survival unit, with parents agreeing to care for the kids, the kids agreeing to carry on the genes and all of them doing what they can to make sure no one gets eaten by wolves. But the resources that make this possible are limited. "Economic means, types of jobs, even love and affection are in finite supply," says psychologist Mark Feinberg of Penn State. Parents, despite themselves, are programmed to notice the child who seems most worthy of the investment. While mil-

lenniums of socialization have helped us resist and even reverse this impulse, and we often pour much of a family's wealth and energy into the care of the disabled or difficult child, our primal programming still draws us to the pretty, gifted ones.

Conger devised a study to test how widespread favoritism is. She assembled a group of 384 adolescent sibling pairs and their parents, visiting them three times over three years and questioning them all about their relationships, their sense of

S I N G L E T O N S

Only Doesn't Mean Lonely

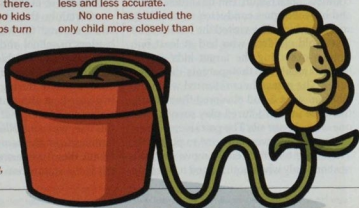
All families, even big ones, start off with an only child. Some, however, stop there. Is that a mistake? Do kids denied the gift of sibs turn out to be spoiled, withdrawn, socially ham-handed?

The thinking used to be yes, yes, yes. But as increasing numbers of sibling researchers look at the question of singletons—the new,

sensitivity-trained term for only children—they say such assumptions are becoming less and less accurate.

No one has studied the only child more closely than

social psychologist Toni Falbo of the University of Texas at Austin. In the 1970s, Falbo became interested in whether the popular singleton stereotype was true, and embarked on 30 years of research in the



FIGHTING IT OUT

Jake O'Shea, 12, chokes Colin, 9, a common event in their Chicago home. What they learn about making peace could serve them as adults—if they get there. "Once he grabbed and pulled my tongue!" says Colin. "I get hurt a lot."



well-being and more. To see how they interacted as a group, she videotaped them as they worked through sample conflicts. Overall, she concluded that 65% of mothers and 70% of fathers exhibited a preference for one child—in most cases, the older one. What's more, the kids know what's going on. "They all say, 'Well, it makes sense that they would treat us differently, because he's older or we're a boy and a girl,'" Conger reports.

At first, kids appear to adapt well to the

disparity and often learn to game the system, flipping blatant favoritism back to their shared advantage. "They'll say to one another, 'Why don't you ask Mom if we can go to the mall because she never says no to you,'" says Conger. But at a deeper level, second-tier children may pay a price. "They tend to be sadder and have more self-esteem questions," Conger says. "They feel like they're not as worthy, and they're trying to figure out why."

Think you're not still living the same re-

ality show? Think again. It's no accident that employees in the workplace instinctively know which person to send into the lion's den of the corner office with a risky proposal or a bit of bad news. And it's no coincidence that the sense of hurt feelings and adolescent envy you get when that same colleague emerges with the proposal approved and the boss's applause seems so familiar. But what you summon up with the feelings you first had long ago is the knowledge you gained then too—that the smartest strategy is not to compete for approval but to strike a partnership with the favorite and spin the situation to benefit yourself as well. This idea did not occur to you de novo. You may know it now, but you learned it then.

U.S., China, South Korea and elsewhere. She conducted personality surveys, administered questionnaires and conducted meta-analyses of other relevant research papers—essentially crunching the

singleton data in other scientists' work. Her conclusion: single kids do just fine—most of the time.

Unlike kids with siblings, singletons may indeed start out with the sense that the moon and the planets orbit around them; awakening to the reality that they're mortals after all can come

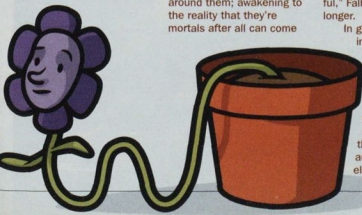
as a jolt. But how much and how quickly the singletons adjust depends on a lot of things, including the kids' temperament.

"Some kids are very outgoing and will figure out quickly how to be successful," Falbo says. Others take longer.

In general, though, Falbo insists that the myth of the troubled singleton is just that, and she confesses her astonishment that so many people still regard that as news. "They're amazed that, gee, singletons are just like anyone else," she says. —J.K.

■ Why your sibling is—or isn't—your best role model

IT'S NO SECRET THAT BROTHERS AND SISTERS emulate one another or that the learning flows both up and down the age ladder. Younger siblings mimic the skills and strengths of older ones. Older sibs are prodded to attempt something new because they don't want to be shown up by a younger one who has already tried it. More complex—and in many ways more important—are those situations in which siblings don't mirror one another but differentiate themselves—a phenomenon psychologists call de-identification.



SIBLINGS



Alejandra and Sofia Romero, 5-year-old fraternal twins growing up in New York City, entered the world at almost the same instant but have gone their own ways ever since—at least in terms of temperament. Alejandra has more of a tolerance—even a taste—for rules and regimens. Sofia observed this (and her parents observed her observing it) and then distinguished herself as the looser, less disciplined of the two. Sofia is also the more garrulous, and Alejandra eventually became the more taciturn. “Sofie served as their mouthpiece,” says Lisa Dreyer, 39, the girls’ mother, “and Alejandra was perfectly happy to let her do it.”

De-identification helps kids stake out personality turf inside the home, but it has another, far more important function: pushing some sibs away from risky behavior. On the whole, siblings pass on dangerous habits to one another in a depressingly predictable

way. A girl with an older, pregnant teenage sister is four to six times as likely to become a teen mom herself, says Patricia East, a developmental psychologist at the University of California, San Diego. The same pattern holds for substance abuse. According to a paper published in the *Journal of Drug Issues* earlier this year, younger siblings whose older sibs drink are twice as likely to pick up the habit too. When it comes to smoking, the risk increases fourfold.

But some kids break the mold—and for surprising reasons. East conducted a five-year study of 227 families and found that those girls who don’t follow their older sisters into pregnancy may be drawn not so much to the wisdom of the choice as to the mere fact that it’s a different one. One teen mom in a family is a drama; two teen moms has a been-there-done-that quality to it. “She purposely goes the other way,” says East. “She decides her sister’s role is teen mom and hers will be high achiever.”

Younger sibs may avoid tobacco for much the same reason. Three years ago, Joseph Rodgers, a psychologist at the University of Oklahoma, published a study of more than 9,500 young smokers. He found that while older brothers and sisters often do introduce younger ones to the habit, the closer they are in age, the more likely the

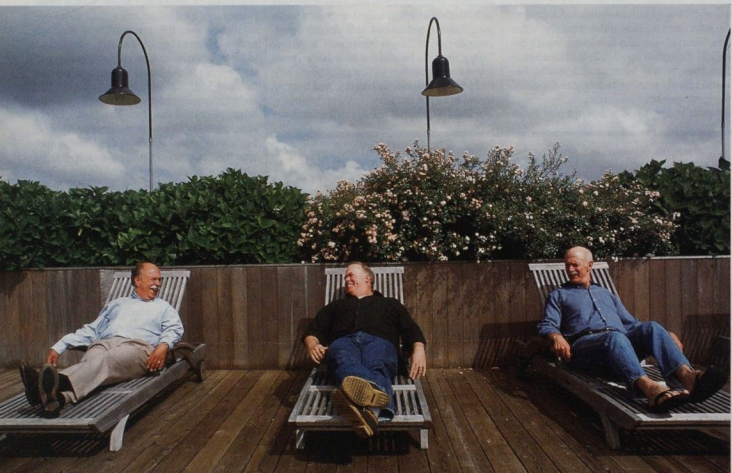
younger one is to resist. Apparently, their proximity in years has already made them too similar. One conspicuous way for a baby brother to set himself apart is to look at the older sibling’s smoking habits and then do the opposite.

■ How a sibling of the opposite sex can affect whom you marry

FAR SUBTLER—AND OFTEN FAR SWEETER—than the risk-taking modeling that occurs among all sibs is the gender modeling that plays out between opposite-sex ones. Brothers and sisters can be fierce de-identifiers. In a study of adolescent boys and girls in central Pennsylvania, the boys unsurprisingly scored higher in such traits as independence and competitiveness while girls did better in empathic characteristics like sensitivity and helpfulness. What was less expected is that when kids grow up with an opposite-sex sibling, such exposure doesn’t temper gender-linked traits but accentuates them. Both boys and girls hew closer still to gender stereotype and even seek friends who conform to those norms. “It’s known as niche picking,” says Kimberly Updegraff, a professor of family and human development at Arizona State Uni-

SURVIVING A LOSS

Actor Wayne Duvall, center, 48, was 13 when his father died. His brothers Gary, left, 56, and Randy, 54, assumed that authority, and Wayne readily accepted it. Although the brothers now live in different cities, they remain exceedingly close. “In many ways,” Wayne says, “they still look out for me.”





Handle Anything

*Cargo and load capacity limited by weight and distribution. Always use proper tie-down technique. Not available on Base and Limited, not available on Sport. Vehicle shown with available equipment. ©2006 Toyota Motor Sales, U.S.A., Inc.



SIBLINGS

FINDING A NICHE

Sofia Romero, left, 5, shares a secret with her twin Alejandra. The New York City girls have distinct personalities. Alejandra obeys—and sets—rules, and Sofia breaks them. They do everything together but still campaign for a third sib. “They say a twin doesn’t count,” says their mom



versity and the person who conducted the study. “By having a sibling who is one way, you strive to be different.”

But as kids get older, that distance from the other gender must, of necessity, close. Here kids with opposite-sex siblings have a marked advantage. Last year William Ickes, a psychologist at the University of Texas at Arlington, published a study in which he paired up male and female students—all of whom had grown up with an opposite-sex sibling—and set them to chatting with one another. Then he questioned the subjects about how the conversation went. In general, boys with older sisters or girls with older brothers were less fumbling at getting things going and kept the exchange flowing much more naturally.

“The guys who had older sisters had more involving interactions and were liked significantly more by their new female acquaintances,” says Ickes. “Women with older brothers were more likely to strike up a conversation with the male stranger and to smile at him more than he smiled at her.”

If siblings can indeed be as powerful an influence on one another as all the research suggests, are all siblings created at least potentially equal? What about half-sibs and stepsibs? Do they reap—and confer—the same benefits? Research findings are a bit scattered on this, if only because shared or reconstituted families can be so complicated. A dysfunctional home in which parents and siblings hunker behind barricades alongside the ones they’re biologically closest to does not lend itself to good sibling ties. Well-

blended families, on the other hand, may produce step- or half-siblings who are extraordinarily close. One of the best studies on this topic is being conducted in Britain with a large group of many different kinds of nontraditional families. In general, the researchers have found that the intensity of the relationships closely follows the degree of physical relatedness. No hard rules have emerged, but the more genes you share, the more deeply invested you tend to grow. “Biological siblings just get into it more,” says Thomas O’Connor, an associate professor of psy-

36%

of people polled say
they’ve become
closer to their
siblings with age

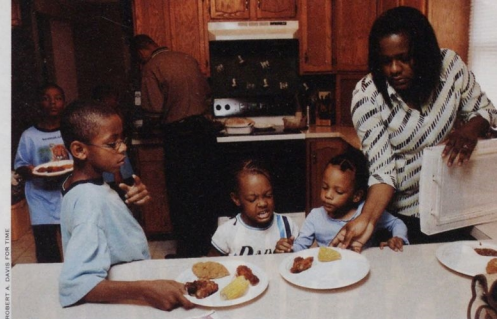
The Brother Factor

If you grew up as a younger brother in a houseful of boys, you have probably lost count of the ways your big brothers shaped your life. Now a new study suggests that if you're also gay, they may have had a role in that too.

Since the 1990s, many social psychologists have concluded that gays represent about 3% of all males—although that's a much debated figure. Others put it as low as 1% or as high as 10%. Those who subscribe to the 3% figure believe they have documented an interesting wrinkle: among boys with one older brother, the figure goes up to about 4%; two older brothers tick it up to 5%; and with three or more, it tops out at about 6%. What nobody could answer is, Why?

Last week psychologist Anthony Bogaert of Brock University in Ontario, Canada, provided some clues from a study of 944 men. Some were raised with biological brothers or stepbrothers; others had biological brothers but were raised apart. In almost no case did homosexuality seem to correlate with stepbrothers living under the same roof. It was only the existence of older biological brothers—whether or not they were raised together—that influenced younger brothers' sexuality.

Bogaert believes the answer may lie in the mother's immune system. Mothers' bodies naturally recognize boy fetuses as slightly more alien than girl fetuses, since all of us carry sex-specific proteins in our bloodstreams. Some mothers may develop antibodies to those male proteins. In subsequent boy pregnancies, Bogaert theorizes, the antibodies may cross the placenta and affect regions of the fetal brain that determine sexual orientation. —J.K.



ROBERT A. DAVIS FOR TIME

chiatry at the University of Rochester Medical Center. "They are warmer and also more conflicted."

How those early bonds can grow stronger with age

ONE OF THE GREATEST GIFTS OF THE SIBLING tie is that while warmth grows over time, the conflicts often fade. After the shooting stops, even the fiercest sibling war leaves little lasting damage. Indeed, siblings who battled a lot as kids may become closer as adults—and more emotionally skilled too, often clearly recalling what their long-ago fights were about and the lessons they took from them. "I'm very sensitized to the fact that it's important to listen to others," a respondent wrote in a recent study conducted in Britain. "People get over their anger, and people who disagree are not terrible," wrote another. Even those with troubled or self-destructive siblings came away with something valuable: they learned patience, acceptance and cautionary lessons. "[You] cannot change others," wrote one. "[But] I wasn't going to be like that."

Full-blown childhood crises may forge even stronger lifelong links. The death of a parent blows some families to bits. But when older sibs step in to help raise younger ones, the dual role of contemporary and caretaker can lay the foundation for an indestructible closeness later on. Wayne Duvall, 48, a television and film actor in New York City and the youngest of three brothers, was just 13 when his father died. His older brothers, who had let him get away with all manner of mischief when both parents were in residence, intuitively knew that the family no longer had that luxury. "I vividly remember them leaning down to me and saying, 'The party's over,'" Duvall recalls.

BLENDING THE SIBS

Carla Stewart, 30, and husband LaShawn, 31, of Richton Park, Ill., came to their marriage with three kids between them and then had two more. Ranging in age from 3 to 9, the kids are close enough to be natural playmates. The term stepparents is not used at home. "We're just parents," says Carla.

"My brothers are my best friends now, though they still consider me the little brother in every imaginable way."

Such powerful connections become even more important as the inevitable illnesses or widowhood of late life lead us to lean on the people we've known the longest. Even siblings who drift apart in their middle years tend to drift back together as they age. "The relationship is especially strong between sisters," who are more likely to be predeceased by their spouses than brothers are, says Judy Dunn, a developmental psychologist at London's Kings College. "When asked what contributes to the importance of the relationship now, they say it's the shared early childhood experiences, which cast a long shadow for all of us."

Of course, that shadow—like all shadows—is a thing created by light. Siblings, by any measure, are one of nature's better brainstormers, and all the new studies on how they make us who we are is one of science's. But the rest of us, outside the lab, see it in a more primal way. In a world that's too big, too scary and too often too lonely, we come to realize that there's nothing like having a band of brothers—and sisters—to venture out with you. —With reporting by Jessica Carsen/London, Wendy Cole/Chicago and Sonja Steptoe/Los Angeles

See what famous siblings have said about one another at time.com/siblings



ILLUSTRATION FOR TIME BY CHRISTOPH NIEMANN

THE PERILS OF

CLONING
GINN073

Ten years after Dolly's birth, scientists are learning that clones may not be such perfect copies after all

By ALICE PARK

IT WAS 10 YEARS AGO THIS WEEK, ON a warm July night, that a newborn lamb with an unique pedigree took her first breath in a small shed tucked in the Scottish hills a few miles south of Edinburgh. From the outside, she looked no different from thousands of other sheep born each summer on surrounding farms. But Dolly, as the world soon came to realize, was no ordinary lamb. She was cloned from a single mammary cell of an adult ewe, overturning long-held scientific dogma that had declared such a thing biologically impossible. Her birth set off a race in laboratories around the world to duplicate the breakthrough. It also raised the specter—however distant—of human cloning.

A decade later, scientists are starting to come to grips with just how different Dolly was. Dozens of animals have been cloned since that first little lamb—mice, cats, cows, pigs, horses and, most recently, a dog—and it's becoming increasingly clear that they are all, in one way or another, defective.

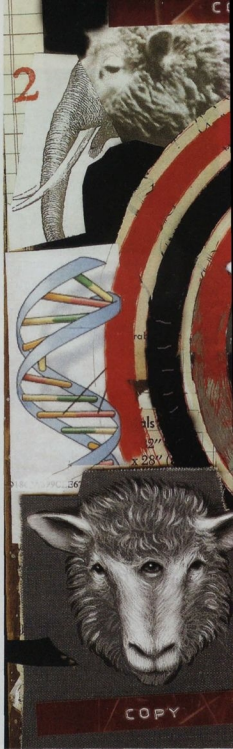
It's tempting to think of clones as perfect carbon copies of the original—down to every hair and quirk of temperament. It turns out, though, that there are various degrees of genetic replication. That may come as a rude shock to people who have paid thousands of dollars to clone a pet cat only to discover that their new kitten looks and behaves nothing like their beloved pet—with a different-color coat of fur, perhaps, or a completely different attitude toward its human hosts.

And these are just the obvious differences. Not only are clones separated from the original template by time—in Dolly's case, six years—but they are also the product of an unnatural molecular mechanism that turns out not to be very good at making identical clones. In fact, the process can embed small flaws in the genomes of clones that scientists are only now discovering. The more scientists have learned about the inner workings of the procedure that created Dolly, the more they are amazed that she survived at all.

"We are still surprised that cloning works," says Ian Wilmut, the embryologist who led the team that created Dolly. Ten years and 15 mammalian species later, the efficiency of the process is no better than it was at Dolly's birth: only 2% to 5% of the eggs that start out as clones end up as live animals. For each clone born, hundreds of others never make it past their first days and weeks, the victims of defects in devel-

opment too severe to allow them to survive.

Clones are vulnerable throughout the cloning process, from their first days in a culture dish to their final moments in the womb to their first weeks after birth. (By contrast, embryos created by in vitro fertilization, which also start out in a petri dish, are pretty much home free if they make it past the first month in the womb.) Dolly, in fact, was the sole survivor of 277 cloning attempts. Clones, as the scientists who make them are fond of saying, are the exception rather than the rule.





It's not hard to appreciate why. Mammalian cloning is an intricate process involving at least three animals, hundreds of eggs, hundreds of more mature cells and not a single sperm. The key challenge is to undo the development of an adult cell—which, like all cells, contains in its DNA the genetic blueprint of the entire organism—that has been programmed or “differentiated” to be one kind of cell (skin or bone or nerve) and no other kind. Somehow, scientists must trick this mature, fully developed cell into resetting its genetic clock so

that it can begin life anew as an embryo.

The process by which that is achieved is called nuclear transfer. The first step is to remove the nucleus from an egg and replace it with the nucleus of an adult cell (in Dolly's case, a cell from a ewe's udder). The two components are electrically fused and chemically activated to trick the hybrid cell into dividing like an embryo. Not surprisingly, the process doesn't always go right. “I call it a lottery,” says Wilmut. “Even if you use the same method as consistently as you can, you may get some



Dolly's creator

has co-authored a new book, *After Dolly: The Uses and Misuses of Human Cloning*, and is now applying the technology to work on human diseases

After Dolly, where did you think cloning would take us in 10 years?

From the point of view of the technique, it has been disappointing. Efficiency hasn't changed dramatically, and there are a lot of abnormalities. It would be nice to think that in the next 10 years, that will change and we will have a radically different survival rate.

Why hasn't it advanced more quickly?

Cloning is a difficult problem. You are taking the genetic information in a cell that is functioning one way, putting it into an egg and hoping that the proteins in the egg change the way that cell functions so that it becomes an embryo.

You have moved your focus from cloning animals to cloning human cells in order to obtain stem cells. Why? Bringing together cloning scientists and stem-cell scientists is important in order to appreciate what's possible. I can very readily see the way in which our technique could contribute to understanding and treating diseases.

How harmful was South Korean cloner Hwang Woo Suk's admission that he had fabricated some of his work?

It reduced public confidence. It probably made it more difficult to get charitable donations, and it may make it less likely that women will come forward to donate [eggs] for stem-cell and cloning studies. Also, the point for researchers is that we have to unlearn some of the things that we had thought we had learned from Hwang.

Will the next breakthroughs in cloning and stem cells come from Asia?

It's quite possible. There is a great danger of researchers in Europe and the U.S. being complacent and overlooking the talents and opportunities people have in places like India, Korea, Singapore and China. I had a postdoc in my lab four years ago, and now he has 20 people working for him in Beijing, which is more than I have.

People have criticized your work as violating the laws of nature.

Learning how to do new things is something our species has been doing for millions of years, whether we're rearing better livestock or growing crops or building houses. The thing that human beings do is try to enhance the duration and quality of our lives, and that's what we're doing with cloning. —A.R.

clones with severe abnormalities and some that have only minor ones."

The most common defect—seen across most of the species that have been cloned so far—is a condition known as large-offspring syndrome. Those clones are born larger than normal and have trouble breathing in their first few weeks. Most of the surrogates that gave birth to them experience prolonged pregnancies and sluggish, difficult labors, which may have something to do with their distended and enlarged placentas. Some of Wilmut's cloned sheep were born with incomplete body walls, with muscles and skin around their abdomen that failed to properly join. Other scientists have reported abnormalities in kidney and brain function. In still other clones, the heart does not develop normally, and the walls that are supposed to separate fresh blood from deoxygenated blood do not form.

The good news, as far as cloning's future is concerned, is that those problems seem to be limited to the clones and are not passed on to the next generation. When clones mate with ordinary animals, their offspring are created by the natural merging of egg and sperm—not by the reprogramming of a mature cell—which may erase any reprogramming errors in the clone. The proof is that Dolly gave birth to five healthy lambs. Cloned cows, pigs and mice are also bearing normal offspring. But when clones mate with other clones, all bets are off. Mice created this way appear to accumulate more abnormalities with each generation.

Most of the errors in reprogramming, scientists say, can be traced to a process known as DNA methylation. During normal development, molecules called methyl groups attach themselves to DNA in precisely timed patterns that regulate which genes are expressed at which times. During cloning, however, those patterns are not always reconstructed in exactly the same way. It's a bit like taking all the words in a novel, jumbling them up and then trying to re-create the original book, putting sentences, pages and chapters back in the right order. The chances of that happening with 100% accuracy are minuscule, which helps explain why cloning is so inefficient. Rudolf Jaenisch, a geneticist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, estimates that 4% to 5% of the genes in a cloned animal's genome are expressed incorrectly—probably because of faulty methylation. "If you reprogram, it affects the whole genome," he says. "From what we know, I would argue that cloned animals cannot be normal. They can be closer to normal, but not normal."

The mammalian body is surprisingly for-

giving and can often compensate for minor programming errors. That's why some genetic changes in clones may not have any measurable functional effects on the animals.

Dolly seems to have been one of those lucky ones. She showed just two signs of her unusual provenance. One was the arthritis she developed at an early age. The other was shortened telomeres in her cells. Telomeres are bits of DNA that sit at the ends of chromosomes and serve as a biological clock chronicling a cell's age. In general, the shorter the telomeres, the older the cell. Dolly, a clone of a 6-year-old ewe, had cells whose telomeres were closer in length to those of her biological mother than to those of a baby lamb. We will never know, though, whether her shortened telomeres would have shortened her life. In 2003 Wilmut and his team decided to put Dolly to sleep after she developed lung cancer caused by a viral infection common among sheep. An autopsy revealed that she was otherwise normal.

But the fact that clones have defects—however minor—only bolsters the arguments that scientists have made against human cloning. Based on his studies of the faults introduced by reprogramming, Jaenisch, for one, thinks human cloning is now out of the question. "I think we cannot make human reproductive cloning safe," he says. "And it's not a technological issue. It's a biological barrier. The pattern of methylation of a normal embryo cannot be recreated consistently in cloning."

But Jaenisch and Wilmut both see a role for cloning in treating human diseases—and perhaps someday conquering some of man's most intractable conditions. Wilmut and others have already created cow, sheep and pig cells genetically engineered to produce a particularly beneficial human protein, then cloned those cells to generate live animals able to make copious amounts of the target protein in their milk. It may be another 10 years or more before that approach yields anything safe and reliable enough to be used in real patients, and there is no guarantee that it will ever be successful. But as Wilmut points out, nobody thought Dolly was possible until she made history that warm July night 10 years ago. ■

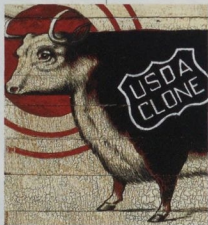
How to Clone A Tasty T-Bone

It might not occur to you that the enormous slabs of beef hanging in a meat locker would make first-rate research material. But that's how scientists at ViaGen think. The small biogenetics company, based in Austin, Texas, has made a speciality of cloning animals—including a pair of cloned mules that made headlines last month when they lost a race against naturally bred mules. But beef cows are more marketable than racing mules, and the very best beef has special properties that makes it particularly attractive to cloners.

Only 2% of the beef in the U.S. gets stamped with the top U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) grade of prime, which indicates that it has just the right mix of marbling and firm muscle to make a juicy steak. Cloning the best beef wouldn't guarantee a first-rate steak, but it might make the process of producing one a lot less hit or miss.

But how do you know which cows to clone? As it turns out, cells taken from top-rated butchered beef can be salvaged if they are harvested within 72 hours of slaughter. "The DNA is still cloneable," says Scott Davis, the geneticist who founded ViaGen.

ViaGen began focusing on prime beef five years ago and has succeeded in cloning half a dozen animals from the tissue of slaughtered cows. The



company's scientists won't know for sure whether the cows have all the features that made the originals so sought after until it raises and sacrifices the animals, something it is not ready to do.

Even if the cloning works, there's no guarantee that the meat will be as pleasing to the palate as the original. Every animal is the product of its genes and the conditions under which it was raised—the temperature and climate in which it lives, the food it eats, the diseases that afflict it.

Still, ViaGen scientists are hopeful that by meticulously documenting what their clones eat and how they live, the company will be able to determine the perfect blend of genes and lifestyle to get high yields of prime grade-1 cattle. Those cows could then be bred to produce cattle with a good shot at getting the USDA's highest stamp of approval. If it works, ViaGen could end up with some valuable breeding stock—and the rest of us with some very tasty steaks. —A.R.

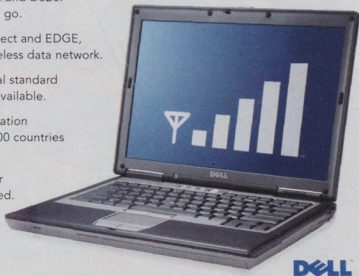


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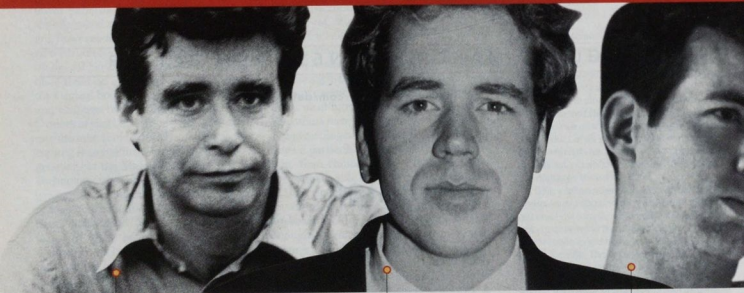
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1925 **F. SCOTT FITZGERALD** *The Great Gatsby* 1926 **ERNEST HEMINGWAY** *The Sun Also Rises* 1951 **J.D. SALINGER** *The Catcher in the Rye*



WHO'S THE VOICE OF THIS GEN

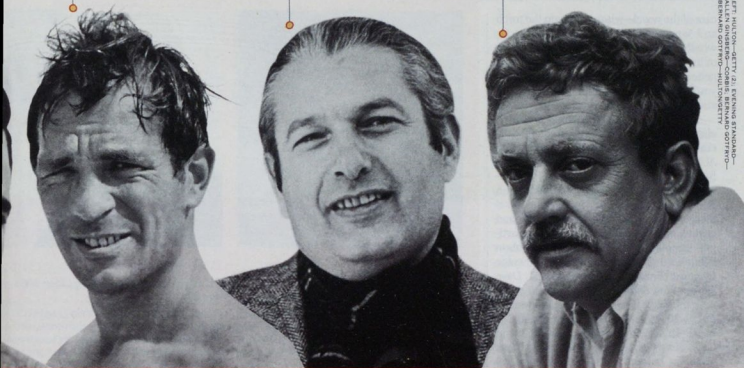
Hemingway's rose like the sun. Kerouac found his on the road. So why can't



1984 **JAY MCINERNEY** *Bright Lights, Big City* 1985 **BRET EASTON ELLIS** *Less than Zero* 1991 **DOUGLAS COUPLAND** *Generation X*

1957 **JACK KEROUAC** *On the Road* 1961 **JOSEPH HELLER** *Catch-22* 1969 **KURT VONNEGUT** *Slaughterhouse-Five*

(FROM LEFT: HULTON—GETTY (2); EVENING STANDARD
GETTY; ALLEN GINSBERG—CORBIS; BERNARD GOTTFRIED
GETTY; BERNARD GOTTFRIED—HULTON/GETTY



GENERATION?

ay's young novelists express the essence of their era? By Lev Grossman

B O O K S

DAVID FOSTER WALLACE IS 44 YEARS OLD. JONATHAN FRANZEN IS 46.
Jonathan Lethem, 42. Michael Chabon, 43.

I point that out not to be rude—although I admit it is kind of rude—but because those are the writers that people—people who think about such things, anyway—think of as the young American novelists. And even by the notoriously elastic standards of the literary world—the only place on earth where you can still be a wunderkind at the age of 30—42 is not especially youthful. Wallace, Franzen, Lethem and Chabon may be great writers, but one thing they are not is young writers.

But if Wallace, Franzen et al. aren't the leading young novelists anymore, who are? It's not an idle question. The novel is one of the most vital cultural resources we have—a private, potent means of sharing the unspeakableness of daily life with one another. So it's only natural to wonder who's taking

2006 WHO WILL BE NEXT?

FROM LEFT: NUNE HELLESTAD—CORBIS; ROBIN PLATZER—GETTY; MATTHEW MCVEY—CORBIS; SABAR

care of the novel—who's taking up the torch and where exactly they're taking it. Or whether it has gone out. The novel is one of the platforms from which the voice of a generation speaks. And if you listen closely, you'll start to wonder if the current generation has a voice at all.

It's not that there aren't any young novelists (for purposes of rough-'n'-ready generalization, let's say novelists under 40). At 39, Jhumpa Lahiri already has a powerful novel (*The Namesake*) and a Pulitzer-winning story collection. Jonathan Safran Foer (*Extremely Loud & Incredibly Close*) has got a lot of attention both popular and critical, and he's only 29. A somewhat partisan sampling would also include Colson Whitehead (*The Intuitionist*), 36; Edwidge Danticat (*Breath, Eyes, Memory*), 37; Dave Eggers (*You Shall Know Our Velocity*), 36; Arthur Phillips (*Prague*), 37; Curtis Sittenfeld (*Prep*), 30; Myla Goldberg (*Bee Season*), 34; Nicole Krauss (*The History of Love*), 31; and Gary Shteyngart (*Absurdistan*), 33. If we open our borders to the Brits, we also get Zadie Smith (*On Beauty*), who at 30 is probably her generation's consensus No. 1 seed, as well as Monica Ali (*Brick Lane*), 39, and David Mitchell (*Black Swan Green*), 37. And there are dozens of young mid-list talents at work who don't get as much press but probably should. Keep an eye on the painfully funny Sam Lipsyte and the eerily fantastical Kelly Link.

Not only do young novelists exist, but we can even say a few things about what their books have in common. For example, they're getting shorter. Ten years ago novels were expanding rapidly, like little over-heated primordial galaxies. Chunky, world-devouring tomes like Wallace's *Infinite Jest* and Franzen's *The Corrections* were supposed to be the wave of the future, as if the ominously burgeoning complexity and interconnectedness of contemporary reality demanded correspondingly fatter books to embrace them. Now, writers are more likely to immerse themselves in a single time and place, and at more portable lengths. The *cosm* has gone from macro-back down to micro.

In fact, the novel is getting more user-friendly in general. Fun and profundity are no longer mutually exclusive. Humor is back: Smith and Shteyngart are satirists, Foer and Mitchell are wits. Likewise, vigorous, plotty storytelling is in vogue again. For much of the 20th century the border between high and low fiction was diligently policed. Now there's an attractive trend toward hybridizing high and low, grafting the brilliant verbal intelligence of high literature onto the



ZADIE SMITH

On Beauty, 2005 Age 30

An Englishwoman, Smith is the consummate chronicler of the intermarriage (and occasional messy divorce) of East and West, black and white, with all the satirical opportunities it affords. No other writer her age receives as much critical adoration, but her work may be too cosmopolitan and sophisticated for the masses.



JONATHAN SAFRAN FOER

Extremely Loud & Incredibly Close, 2005 Age 29

Probably the most virtuosic literary stylist of the rising generation, Foer in *Extremely Loud* and in his first novel, *Everything Is Illuminated*, wings comedy and tragedy alike from the interplay of modern America with the Old World, but a sentimental streak limits his cool factor.

sturdy narrative roots of genre fiction. "That used to be a real novelty act, or something that was done with kid gloves or with heavy irony," notes Lethem. "Now, a lot of writing has a very natural degree of engagement with the vernacular culture." Look at someone like Sittenfeld, whose *Prep*, a wildly readable account of a Midwestern girl floundering at an elite Eastern boarding school, became a surprise best seller. Is she a literary writer or a commercial writer? The distinction no longer seems to apply. She's just a good writer.

All that is lovely news for future students of 21st century literature. And yet: there's still no writer under 40 who makes you want to stand up in a crowded theater and shout, *That right there* is the voice of this generation, *that* is the yearning and the rage of the contemporary, embodied in some poor sad sack of a character who's mad as hell and just can't get no satisfaction. Every once in a while a novel comes along that makes everything else feel dated, that feels as current as tomorrow's e-mail, that gives readers the story of their own secret ineffable desperation with such immediacy that it induces spontaneous mass recognition as the Voice. Every once in a while—but not lately.

You can walk from the beginning of the 20th century, stepping safely from decade to decade, and find one writer after another anointed as the Voice. F. Scott Fitzgerald,

Ernest Hemingway, J.D. Salinger, Jack Kerouac, Joseph Heller, Kurt Vonnegut, Jay McInerney, Bret Easton Ellis... but once you get to Douglas Coupland (who published *Generation X* in 1991), the last novelist who on a moonless night could be taken for the V.O.A.G., the trail goes cold. Not quite abruptly—for a few twinkly, magical minutes interest swirled around Wallace, and Eggers (more for his memoir than his fiction), and Chuck Palahniuk—but, ultimately, definitely.

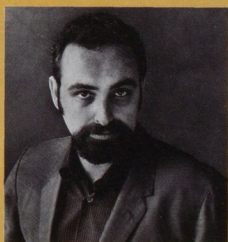
The process by which the Voice is anointed is a mysterious one. "I think youth has a lot to do with it," says Ellis, whose latest novel, *Lunar Park*, came out last summer. "Being the first—and not necessarily the best, just the first—to capture what it feels like to be a member of your generation catapults you forward in a direction that doesn't happen to Jonathan Safran Foer or Zadie Smith. I guess I got lucky, because the way I wrote about us was something that a large number of people connected and agreed with. It wasn't orchestrated. There wasn't a plan."

You could argue that the current crop of writers is still ripening. But how long does it take? Ellis was still in college when he wrote *Less than Zero*, a vivid, anhedonic portrait of wasted (in every sense) youth on the L.A. party circuit. Hemingway was only 27 when he published *The Sun Also Rises*. Fitzgerald wrote *The Great Gatsby*

thoritage of talent or ambition. Their work is notable for, among other things, immigration, translation, assimilation. But do they speak for their generation?



JHUMPA LAHIRI: GORDON DUFFY



GARY SHTEYNGART: JEFFREY M. HARRIS

JHUMPA LAHIRI

The Namesake, 2003 Age 39

Her subject is the life of the displaced Indian in the U.S., and Lahiri finds endless complexity in the dance of immigrant with native, generation with generation, to the slow music of assimilation. A cool, sad beauty infuses every line that Lahiri writes—but can readers find universal themes in her very specific milieu?

GARY SHTEYNGART

Absurdistan, 2006 Age 33

A Russian immigrant, Shteyngart mines the misadventures of Russians and Americans alike for satirical gems. Misha Vainberg, the weepy, hip-hop-loving hedonist hero of *Absurdistan*, is one of the great comic characters in recent fiction. But it remains to be seen if the woes of post-Soviet life will have broad appeal.

at 28; Salinger, *The Catcher in the Rye*, 32. (Not that it really matters, but Goethe was just 25 when he published *The Sorrows of Young Werther*, one of the first voice-of-a-generation novels, in 1774. It's not really the done thing now, but back then throughout Europe it was very hip to dress up like Werther in a blue coat and yellow trousers.)

It's quite possible that nobody wants to be the Voice anymore. It's "a great aggravation for anybody who has been selected," says Gary Fisketjon, vice president and editor at large at Knopf, who edits both Ellis and McInerney. "Writers are always speaking for themselves and not for a generation. I don't know if they want that responsibility. I think it's something that nobody would feel comfortable with unless the ego was completely untrammelled." At least one Voice emeritus has nothing but relief that his term is over. "I think the very idea is narcissistic," says Coupland, whose most recent novel (his 11th), *JPod*, is set at a video-game company. "I got stuck with the ridiculous label for a while because *Generation X* had the word generation in the title."

Are we simply living through a downturn, one of those periodic dead spots wherein the muses take a smoke break? Has the country's artistic talent been siphoned off by sexier, better-paying media with bigger audiences? (TV has been sus-

piciously good lately.) Or could the professionalization of "creative writing" in the form of scores of M.F.A. programs, actually be retarding the progress of contemporary literature—hammering eccentric geniuses into workshop-style conformity, then drowning them out by handing diplomas to their mediocre peers by the bushel?

Or maybe there never was such an animal in the first place. The voice of a generation could just be a convenient fiction, propagated by academics looking for dissertation topics, publicists looking for publicity and (surely not) book critics looking for a headline. On some level it has always been an absurdity. Look at the heroes of the iconic books of those previous eras: Jake Barnes, Holden Caulfield, Dean Moriarty—bad seeds and square pegs, all of them. The paradox of every Voice novel is that it brings a generation of readers together around the idea that they alone are the single badass misfit truth teller in a world full of phonies.

Note also that every single one of the writers to bear the title has been both white and male. Whose generation are they speaking for, exactly? "When people say *generation*, they're usually not including, say, people who live in Africa, Asia and people without bank accounts," Coupland says tartly. "It's an exclusionary and delusional concept."

That probably gets at some of the truth

of it. The world has changed, and the novel has changed with it. Fictional characters just can't get away with being generically white and middle class and male anymore, the way they used to. Not and still be the object of mass identification and adoration the way the Voice has traditionally been. We just don't think about people that way anymore: we're interested in the specifics of their racial and ethnic and historical circumstances, where they came from and who made them that way. If the novelists under 40 have a shared preoccupation, it is—to put it as dryly as possible—immigration. They write about characters who cross borders, from East to West, from Old World to New and back again, and the many and varied tolls they pay along the way. Their shared project, to the extent that they have one, is the revision of the good old American immigrant narrative, bringing it up to code with the realities of our multicultural, transcontinental, hyphenated identities and our globalized, displaced, deracinated lives. It's a literature of multiplicity and diversity, not one of unanimity, and it makes the idea of a unifying voice of a generation seem rather quaint and 20th century. I may love and empathize with the transplanted Bengalis who populate Lahiri's fiction, or Shteyngart's semi-Americanized Russians, or Foer's uprooted Old Worlders or Smith's international extended families. But I would never be so foolish as to mistake any of them for myself.

The fact is, a generation of readers will probably never again come together around a single book the way they did in the 20th century, when Holden Caulfield went looking for the ducks in Central Park. Those birds have flown. It's hard not to miss that old sense of unanimity. Even if it was a fiction, it was a pleasant, comforting one.

But we'll get over it. Isn't the whole point of literature to transcend its moment—not to get mired in the transient woes of a particular generation? "Let's not forget that the voice of a generation does not equal the best writer of a generation," Ellis points out with admirable perspective. "And the best novels of my generation are not generational novels. *The Corrections*, *The Amazing Adventures of Kavalier & Clay*, *The Fortress of Solitude*... they can't really be classified as that." Listen for the singular voice of the current generation, and you'll hear something else, something different: multiple voices, singing not in unison, but in harmony. —With reporting by Andrea Sachs



	WHITE	BLACK	WHITE	BLACK
31	To: Thinking ten moves ahead.			
32	From: Matt, whose brain tumor will be			
33	Zapped by a Gamma Knife.			
34	I beat my dad at 9.			
35	I beat my whole school at 12.			
36	I beat everyone in my state at 16			
37	And I'm not going to let this tumor			
38	beat me now.			
39	The doctor says with the Gamma Knife			
40	procedure, I don't even need to be in			
41	the hospital overnight.			
42	There's no incision.			
43	Just the gamma rays			
44	destroying the lesion in my brain.			
45	So, I challenged the doctor to a match			
46	afterwards			
47	But he said he hates losing.			
48	Checkmate,			
49	Matt			
50				

	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	
8									8
7									7
6									6
5									5
4									4
3									3
2									2
1									1
	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	





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HE WAS A GEEK with brilliant feet, she a pert blond chorine. Yet when Fred took Ginger in his arms and led her across a ballroom floor, he not only defined the film musical but also, deep in the Depression, created a new ideal of "la belle, la perfectly swell romance." Most of their well numbers—*Isn't This a Lovely Day* and *Cheek to Cheek* from *Top Hat*, the all-time sublime *Never Conna Dance* from *Swing Time*—are in this five-film set, along with cogent analysis of the screen's most buoyant duo.



NO MAPS ON MY TAPS

WHEN ASTAIRE, in *Swing Time*, performed the

Bojangles of Harlem number, he was paying tribute to Bill (Bojangles) Robinson, tap master extraordinaire and the prime exponent of a dance form developed on slave plantations and in vaudeville halls. Three of Robinson's aged contemporaries—Bunny Briggs, Chuck Green and Sandman Sims—still hoofing in 1979, were the stars of George T. Nierenberg's intimate documentary about a challenge dance at a Harlem nightclub. Their story is poignant, their dexterity poetic, their legacy immense.



7 DVDS SHOW HOW DIVINE AND DRAMATIC DANCE CAN BE

From Astaire to Fonteyn, these were the greats who put emotion in motion



▼ GENE KELLY: ANATOMY OF A DANCER

THE KID FROM Pittsburgh, Pa., could tap like a demon (he did a

terrific trio with the Nicholas Brothers in *The Pirate*), but Kelly's real aspiration was to create a fully American form of dance: ballet with machismo.

Compared with the slim, elegant Astaire, Kelly was Everyman, all man. And for a wonderful while, he did it all: sang, danced, acted, choreographed and directed. *Singin' in the Rain* is his masterpiece, but there's lots more to savor in Robert Trachtenberg's excellent 2002 bio-doc.



WEST SIDE STORY

IN 1961 THIS Oscar winner introduced the mass audience to the marriage of serious dance (Jerome

Robbins') and serious music (Leonard Bernstein's). The way to see it, if not on the big screen, is in this two-disc MGM set that includes reminiscences of those baby Jets and Sharks, now in their 60s and 70s.



BALANCHINE

GEORGE BALANCHINE was the great melder of high and popular art in

dance. The young Russian came to the U.S. in 1933 and worked on Broadway, in Hollywood and for the circus (devising a piece for 14 elephants) before starting the New York City Ballet in 1948 and creating works from Stravinsky (39 in all) and Tchaikovsky (the perennial *Nutcracker*). He said his mission was to "entertain the public" as well as elevate it. This 1984 documentary does both.



THE RED SHOES

HOW MANY GIRLS saw this 1948 English musical melodrama and, no matter what the heroine's

fate, decided to put on ballet slippers? Michael Powell and Emeric Pressburger's fevered parable of ballet's uneasy kinship of music and dance turned an art-business into a battlefield of egos, lusts and near demonic possessiveness. It established Anton Walbrook as the Svengali of his day and made a star of Moira Shearer.

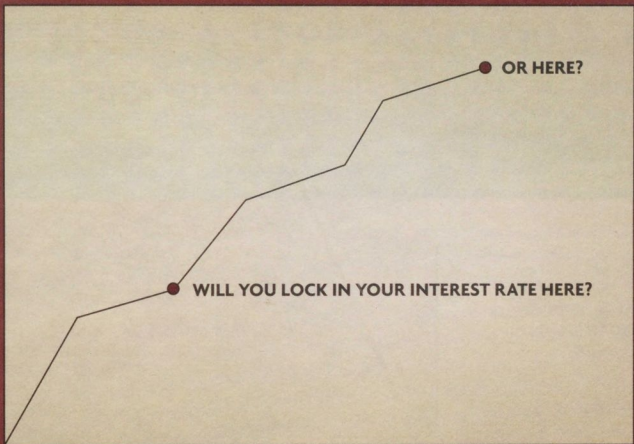


▼ MARGOT

SHEARER'S ROYAL Ballet colleague Margot Fonteyn was by 1948 the world's top ballet dancer. Her

grace, sense of drama and ability to remain *en pointe* for seemingly minutes on end won her wide acclaim (and the cover of *TIME*). Later, when she was in her 40s, she found new life and a new lover with young Rudolf Nureyev. But her story was gaudier than her renown: the stuff of affairs, abortions, gun-running for her Panamanian husband, an old age stripped of wealth, burial in a pauper's grave. Tony Palmer's thrilling 2005 documentary brims with pertinent clips and lurid gossip. It captures a dancer's life at its most rarefied and rapacious. —By Richard Corliss





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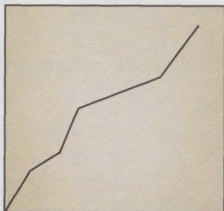
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It takes about five minutes to assemble the Grillput, a petite stainless-steel grill you can take anywhere. The parts pack up into a slim 11-in. tube weighing just over a pound. **\$29 at rei.com**. Optional fire bowl, **\$13 at amazon.com**



Blue-Light Special

When grilling after dark, try the LumaTong, with extra-large pincers and a tiny detachable light aimed at whatever you're tonging. The jaw locks with each squeeze for more control. **\$20 at grilling4all.com**



ILLUSTRATION FOR TIME BY MARCELLUS HALL

Hot's in Those Hot Dogs?

The traditional answer is, Don't ask, but the new trend in wieners is to boast about the ingredients—organic, grass fed or nitrite free. Nitrites keep germs at bay and give dogs their hot pink hue but have been linked to various cancers. So the new uncured franks use natural preservatives instead, like celery juice and beets. **Hans' All Natural (\$4.99 for six)** dogs, for example, have a brownish hue and a pronounced spicy taste. **Pure Foods Uncured Beef Wieners (\$5.49 for six)** have a strong meaty taste and a redder hue, thanks to beet powder. **Wellshire Farms** offers a spicy frank (**\$4.99 for five**) reminiscent of kielbasa.

You say the kids won't eat 'em? Try **Organic Valley Organic Hot Dogs (\$5.99 for seven)**, smoked over



Great Shakes

If you can't take the heat... use these rosewood salt and pepper shakers to season searing meats and veggies. The 14-in. stems keep hands at a safe distance from the open flames. The shakers also unscrew for table use. **\$20 at chefscatalog.com**

Ball of Fire

The FlameWorks Hot Rod mop brush from Chef'n grabs generous quantities of sauce with its multilayered silicone head. The tail end of its stainless-steel handle doubles as a bottle opener. **\$15 at chefsource.com**

hickory hardwood to give them a traditional taste. Or serve an **Applegate Farms Great American Organic Hot Dog (\$4.99 for eight)**, made from grass-fed beef. It has a slightly mushy texture, but the seasoning and color give it the most authentic hot-dog look and taste. —By Lisa McLaughlin





Bowled Over

This lightweight Orikaso dinnerware travels flat to save space and folds into cups, bowls and plates of various sizes.

At a few dollars apiece, they're reusable (and thus environmentally friendly) and easy to clean. A bonus: they're as colorful as any ceramics and a lot less breakable in a backpack.

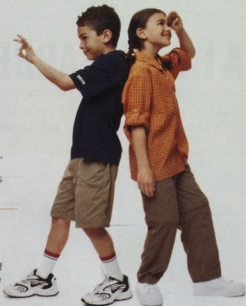


Glowing Gadget

When it's time to answer nature's call in the dark of night, mini-lights come in handy. Guyot Designs' **Firefly**, \$22, converts a water bottle into a flashlight whose brightness can be adjusted for use as a night-light or reading lamp.

Don't Bug Me

Insect repellents can be sticky or stinky. How about a shirt that keeps pesky pests away? Ex Officio's **Buzz Off** shirts, \$22 and up, are made with permethrin, the same insecticide used in long-lasting antimalaria bed nets.



COMFY CAMPING Hard-core outdoors enthusiasts still prefer to rough it, but a growing number of families look for comfort first when they head for the hills. As the summer season heats up, car campers are pulling into the nation's parks bearing high-tech tents and other gear to keep the rain away and bugs at bay. Here are some of the cool new tools they're packing. —By Jeremy Caplan



Titan Tent

Sales of big car-camping tents are up 117% over the past three years. The new three-person, two-door **Mutha Hubba**, \$380 from Mountain Safety Research, is both spacious (40 sq. ft. of floor space) and lightweight (less than 7 lbs.).

Sleep Sack

REI's **Kindercone**, \$59, is designed for kids, with pockets for toys and a flashlight as well as extra clothes—which then make a cozy pillow. The insulated bag can be unzipped and opened flat so you can also use it as a quilt.



Pillowry Pad

Soft as your sleeping bag may be, truly cushy camping calls for an extra layer of cushion underneath to support your back. The Thera-Rest Women's Trail **Comfort mattress**, \$70, is designed specifically for those whose feet get cold at night: it has extra insulation at the lower end.

Stay Dry

For nippy nights by the campfire, the **Xirtam jacket** is lightweight, waterproof and windproof. At \$200, it's not for bargain hunters, but it's adaptable enough to serve through spring, summer and fall, not just on chilly weekends in July.





WHILE YOU'RE THINKING INFLATION, CHECK YOUR TIRES.

Tires lose about a pound of pressure every month. So check them every month with a tire gauge and add air if they need it. It'll make your ride safer, and even help your car get better gas mileage. A tire safety reminder from Mario Andretti and Firestone.



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CLASSIC.



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WILL LEO'S FILM BREAK THE ICE?

LEONARDO DICAPRIO is giving gem execs the jitters. He plays a diamond smuggler in *The Blood Diamond*, a Sierra Leone-set drama that depicts how gem sales funded African civil wars in the '90s. De Beers says it will spend \$15 million to counter publicity its execs believe will hurt sales around the film's winter release. In other words, they're finally spending their profits from J. Lo's engagement rings.



ANASTASIO GALLIO—REXNA



LADIES, PREPARE TO LOSE YOUR HEAD

FIRST LOOK

JONATHAN RHYNS MEYERS has already played a king with a thing for velvet and young girls, in CBS's 2005 Elvis movie. But for the Irish actor's next swaggering royal role, in Showtime's 2007 series *The Tudors*, he has to learn some new skills. As Henry VIII, Rhys Meyers will tackle "jousting, lute and a minimum of six languages," alongside Sam Neill as Cardinal Wolsey. Even draped in jewels befitting the portly, much married monarch, "I look nothing like Henry," the lean *Match Point* star admits. "I have to make him my own." Funny, that's just how Anne Boleyn felt.



WINNER: ABC. Catfights mean free publicity. If O'Donnell is smart, she'll start the show off this fall by pulling co-host Joy Behar's hair

Q&A | AMY SEDARIS

Amy Sedaris is "boozer, user and loser" Jerri Blank in *Strangers with Candy*, the film version of her Comedy Central show.

Where did Jerri come from?

Paul [Dinello], Steve [Colbert] and I had an idea to do a show based on after-school specials. Paul found this old documentary about a 46-year-old woman who was an ex-prostitute ex-con who delivered antidrug messages at schools. I told the wardrobe woman I wanted to look like someone who owned a snake.

You're pretty, but you prefer to play ugly?

Everything is about pretty people. The audience for *Strangers* is outcasts. I like playing characters who find themselves attractive even though they may not be.

Sarah Jessica Parker. Philip Seymour Hoffman. It was a surprise to see name actors in this movie.

We just asked them. We'll pick you up. A hot lunch. It's two or three hours.

You're coming out with a hospitality book this fall. Any tips?

Entertaining old people—that's about the music not being loud, the lighting being bright and the food tasting like it's already been tasted.

Don't you sell

your baked goods? My cupcakes. I like making cash. I did a play with Sarah Jessica. And I said, "Each week why don't you put \$100 into this jar, and I'll match it?" I said we'd do something with it. I still have it behind my bed. I think I have \$1,200 in it. I doubt she remembers it.



CHRIS BUCK—COMBIS OUTLINE

FEUD OF THE WEEK

NAME: Star (Don't Ask Me How, but I'm a Flyweight Now) Jones Reynolds

OCCUPATION: Until last week, keeping audiences of ABC's *The View* up on a very important topic—herself

BEST PUNCH: "I feel like I was fired," she told PEOPLE magazine, before surprising her co-hosts with a live, on-air announcement that she was leaving the show

NAME: Barbara (I Make Celebrities Cry, and You're Next, Baby) Walters

OCCUPATION: Co-producer, co-host and queen bee of *The View*

BEST PUNCH: Although she hired her co-host's rival Rosie O'Donnell and knew ABC wasn't renewing Reynolds' contract, Walters feigned surprise on air, then said viewers were "losing trust" in Reynolds



STEPHANIE PERINOW—COMBIS OUTLINE

Charles Krauthammer

Remember What Happened Here

Gaza is freed, yet Gaza wages war. That reveals the Palestinians' true agenda

ISRAEL INVADES GAZA. THAT IS IN RESPONSE TO AN ATTACK from Gaza that killed two Israelis and wounded another, who was kidnapped and brought back to Gaza ... which, in turn, was in response to Israel's targeted killing of terrorist leaders in Gaza ... which, in turn, was in response to the indiscriminate shelling of Israeli towns by rockets launched from Gaza.

Of all the conflicts in the world, the one that seems the most tediously and hopelessly endless is the Arab-Israeli dispute, which has been going on in much the same way, it seems, for 60 years. Just about every story you'll see will characterize Israel's invasion of Gaza as a continuation of the cycle of violence.

Cycles are circular. They have no end. They have no beginning. That is why, as tempting as that figure of speech is to use, in this case it is false. It is as false as calling American attacks on Taliban remnants in Afghanistan part of a cycle of violence between the U.S. and al-Qaeda or, as Osama bin Laden would have it, between Islam and the Crusaders going back to 1099. Every party has its grievances—even Hitler had his list when he invaded Poland in 1939—but every conflict has its origin.

What is so remarkable about the current wave of violence in Gaza is that the event at the origin of the "cycle" is not at all historical, but very contemporary. The event is not buried in the mists of history. It occurred less than one year ago. Before the eyes of the whole world, Israel left Gaza. Every Jew, every soldier, every military installation, every remnant of Israeli occupation was uprooted and taken away.

How do the Palestinians respond? What have they done with Gaza, the first Palestinian territory in history to be independent, something neither the Ottomans nor the British nor the Egyptians nor the Jordanians, all of whom ruled Palestinians before the Israelis, ever permitted? On the very day of Israel's final pullout, the Palestinians began firing rockets out of Gaza into Israeli towns on the other side of the border. And remember: those are attacks not on settlers but on civilians in Israel proper, the pre-1967 Israel that the international community recognizes as legitimately part of sovereign Israel, a member state of the U.N. A thousand rockets have fallen since.

For what possible reason? Before the withdrawal, attacks across the border could have been rationalized with the usual

Palestinian mantra of occupation, settlements and so on. But what can one say after the withdrawal?

The logic for those continued attacks is to be found in the so-called phase plan adopted in 1974 by the Palestine National Council in Cairo. Realizing that they would never be able to destroy Israel in one fell swoop, the Palestinians adopted a graduated plan to wipe out Israel. First, accept any territory given to them in any part of historic Palestine. Then, use that sanctuary to wage war until Israel is destroyed.

So in 2005 the Palestinians are given Gaza, free of any Jews.

Do they begin building the state they say they want, constructing schools and roads and hospitals? No. They launch rockets at civilians and dig a 300-yard tunnel under the border to attack Israeli soldiers and bring back a hostage.

And this time the terrorism is carried out not by some shadowy group that the Palestinian leader can disavow, however disingenuously. This is Hamas in action—the group that was recently elected to lead the Palestinians. At least there is now truth in advertising: a Palestinian government openly committed to terrorism and to the destruction of a member



VIGILANT: In Gaza last week, a militant stands by for an invasion

state of the U.N. openly uses terrorism to carry on its war.

That is no cycle. That is an arrow. That is action with a purpose. The action began 59 years ago when the U.N. voted to solve the Palestine conundrum then ruled by Britain by creating a Jewish state and a Palestinian state side by side. The Jews accepted the compromise; the Palestinians rejected it and joined five outside Arab countries in a war to destroy the Jewish state and take all the territory for themselves.

They failed, and Israel survived. That remains, in the Palestinian view, Israel's original sin, the foundational crime for the cycle: Israel's survival. That's the reason for the rockets, for the tunneling, for the kidnapping—and for Israel's current response.

If that history is too ancient, consider the history of the past 12 months. Gaza is free of occupation, yet Gaza wages war. Why? Because this war is not about occupation, but about Israel's very existence. The so-called cycle will continue until the arrow is abandoned and the Palestinians accept a compromise—or until the arrow finds its mark and Israel dies. ■



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